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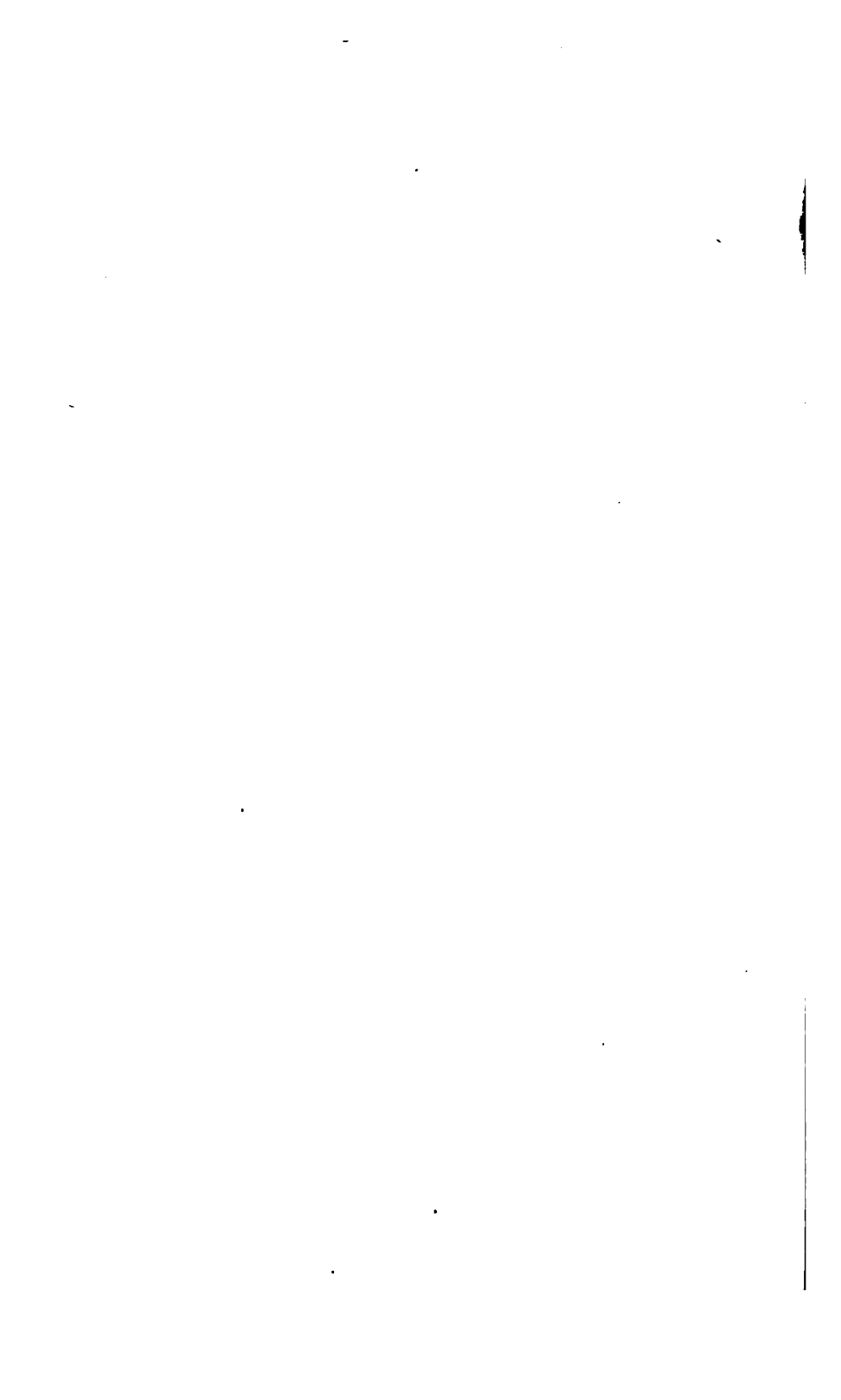
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HISTORY

OF
ANCIENT GREECE,

ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS;

FROM THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS TILL THE

DIVISION OF THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST.

INCLUDING THE HISTORY OF

LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND THE FINE ARTS.



BY JOHN GILLIES, LL.D.

*F.R.S. and A.S. London, F.R.S. Edinburgh, and Historiographer
to his Majesty for Scotland.*



FIRST AMERICAN FROM THE LAST LONDON EDITION.



Εκ μὲν τοιγὰρ τῆς ἀπαντᾷ πρὸς ἀλλήλα συμπλοκῆς καὶ παραθέ-
σεως, ὅτι δι' ὁμοιοτήτος καὶ διαφορᾶς, μόνως αὖ τις ἰφικαίῃ καὶ
δυναμικῇ παροπτεύσας, ἀμὰ καὶ τὸ χρησίμῳ καὶ τὸ τέρπνῳ ἐκ
τῆς ἱστορίας λαβεῖν.

POLYBIUS, LL. C.Y.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

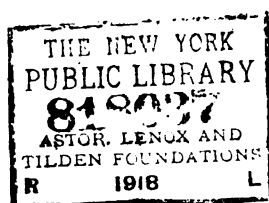
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OF
THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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Four hundred and sixteen years before the CHAP
Christian era, and little more than half a
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of Macedonia, there was a country to a small
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FOUR hundred and sixteen years before the Christian æra, and little more than half a century before Philip assumed the government of Macedon, that country, to a superficial observer, might have appeared scarcely distinguish-

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The kingdom of Macedon founded by Caranus.

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Transac-
tions of
the Mace-
donians
preceding
the reign
of Arche-
laus I.
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dually associated with the warlike tribes in their neighbourhood, whom it would have been alike impossible for them to extirpate or to enslave; and the same generous policy, being embraced by their descendants, deserves to be regarded as the primary cause of Macedonian greatness.

Perdiccas, the first of that name, so far eclipsed the fame of his three predecessors, that he is accounted the founder of the monarchy by Herodotus* and Thucydides†. His history has been magnified by fable, which has also obscured or distorted the actions of the five princes‡ that intervened between him and Alexander I. who filled the Macedonian throne when Xerxes invaded Greece||. Here we attain historic ground. Alexander, as related above, acted an important and honourable part in the affairs of Greece and Persia, without neglecting the interest of his own kingdom, which he extended to the river Nessus on the east, and to the Axios on the west. His son, Perdiccas II., inherited the abilities of his father, without imitating his integrity. During the Peloponnesian war, the alliance of this prince formed an object of important concern to the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. He espoused the cause of the latter, which he regarded as his own, because the Athenians, who had occasionally levied tribute on his

* Herodot. I. viii. c. cxxviii.

† Thucyd. I. ii. p. 168.

‡ Argeus I. Philip. I. Egepus † Alcetes, Amyntas I. Justin. I. vii. c. ii.

|| Herodot. I. v. c. xix.

§ Vol. I. p. 447.

ancestors*, were then masters of the Greek settle-
ments along the northern coast of the *Ægean*, the
vicinity of which naturally tempted the ambition of
Perdiccas. Under the specious pretence of enabling
Olynthus and the other cities of Chalcidice to reco-
ver their independence, he lent himself to destroy the
Athenian influence there, expecting to establish the
Macedonian in its stead. But this design failed of
success. The Olynthian confederacy was broken,
its members became subject to Sparta, and after the
misfortunes of that republic had encouraged the
Olynthians to resume their freedom, they felt them-
selves sufficiently powerful not only to resist the
encroachments of Macedon, but to make consider-
able conquests in that country†.

Archelaus I. who succeeded to the throne, dis-
played an enlightened policy, far more beneficial
to his kingdom than the courage of Alexander, or
the craft of Perdiccas. Like those princes, Ar-
chelaus was ambitious to enlarge his dominions,
(having conquered Pydna and other towns in the
delightful region of Pieria) but his main care
was to cultivate and improve them. He facilitated
communication among the principal cities of Ma-
cedon, by cutting straight roads through most parts
of the country; he built walls and places of strength
in the situations most favourable for that purpose;
encouraged agriculture and the arts, particularly
those subservient to war; formed magazines of

The state
of Mac-
don great-
ly im-
proved by
that
prince.
A. C. 416
—410.

* Thucyd. ubi supra, et Demosthenes passim.

† See above, vol. iii. c. xxi. p. 320, et seqq.

‡ Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. c. xvi.

whose history forms a perpetual series of crimes and calamities. Amidst these disorders, the sceptre still remained in the family of Perdiccas; but almost every prince of the blood had an ambition to reign: In order to attain their purpose, the different competitors courted the assistance of the Thracians, of the Illyrians, of the Thessalians, of the Olynthian confederacy, of Athens, of Sparta, and of Thebes; and each of those powers endeavoured to turn to their own immediate profit the dissensions in Macedonia. Bardyllis, an active and daring chief, who by his abilities in acquiring, and his equity in dividing the spoil, had risen from the condition of a private robber to the command of the Illyrian tribes, entered Macedonia at the head of a numerous army, dispossessed Amyntas II. the father of Philip, and placed Argæus on the throne, A. C. 385, who consented to become the tributary of his benefactor. The Thracians supported the title of another prince named Pausanias; but the assistance of Thessaly and Olynthus enabled Amyntas to re- A. C. 383. sume the government; the Olynthians refusing, however, to surrender several places of importance which Amyntas had entrusted to their protection, or which they had conquered from his competitor. Amyntas complained to Sparta; and that republic for reasons above related, declared war against

Herodotus, A. C. 369.

Ptolemy, 367.

Perdiccas, 365.

10. Amyntas, A. C. 369.

To him Philip succeeded in the same year.

* Cicero de Offic. l. ii.

† Diodor. l. xiv. c. xcii.

‡ See vol. iii. c. xxix. p. 329.

CHAPTER

XXIII.

A. C. 390.

The usurper
Pausanias,

dethroned
by Iphi-
crates, at
the en-
treachery
of
Eurymedon.
A. C. 370.

Olynthus, and reinstated the Macedonian king in full possession of his dominions. In consequence of this event, Amyntas established, and then he held, his court at Pella, where he enjoyed a few years of tranquillity, cultivating the friendship of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.

The short reign of his son, Alexander, was disturbed by a fresh invasion of the Illyrians, from whom he purchased a precarious peace. He left two brothers, Perdiccas and Philip, of whom the elder was still a minor. Availing himself of the youth and weakness, Pausanias found means to usurp the throne, being supported not only by the Thracians, but by a considerable body of Greek mercenaries, as well as by a powerful party in Macedonia.

Iphicrates, the Athenian, happened, at this critical juncture to return from Amphipolis, the recovery of which formed the main object of his expedition. In former journeys to the coast of Thracia, he had been treated with distinguished regard by Amyntas, whose widow Eurydice now craved the protection of Iphicrates for the sons of his friend. This princess was descended from the Bacchiadae, the noblest family of Corinth, who rather than live on an equality with their fellow-citizens in that republic, had become the leaders of the Iynceia, a barbarous tribe inhabiting the most Western district of Macedonia. Eurydice inherited all the ambition of her race, and was distinguished by a bold

intriguing spirit, still enticed them by her beauty and accomplishments. With her young son, she suddenly appeared before Iphicrates in the supplicating form of a calamity, and, more presented, the eldest son in his hand placed Philip, the younger, on his knee, and conjured him by the sincere friendship which Amyntas had ever entertained for Athens, and for himself to pity their tender years oppressed by cruel usurpation. The dignity of her sorrow prevailed with Iphicrates, who respected the sacred ties of hospitality, and whose wife the advantage that might accrue to Athens by gaining an interest in Macedonia. We are, not informed by what means he established Perdiccas on the throne. The revolution was effected with such rapidity, that we may suppose a sudden insurrection of the people, who, on important emergencies, were accustomed, as in the heroic age, to assemble in arms. During the minority of the young prince, the kingdom was governed by his natural brother Ptolemy, whose ambition, unsatisfied with a delegated power, openly aspired to reign. This usurper (as we have related above) was dethroned by Pelopidas, and the Thebans, who reinstated Perdiccas in his dominions; and, in order to secure the dependence of Macedonia on Thebes, carried into that city as hostages thirty Macedonian youths, and with them Philip, the younger brother of the King. Perdiccas seemed proud of his chain, related with the protection of the Thebans, then in the

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THE THEBANS

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* Justin. l. vii. c. iv.

† Cornel. Nepos, in Iphicr. Echis de falsa Legatione.

Perdiccas defeated by the Illyrians.

C II A P. height of their prosperity, he forgot the gratitude due to Iphicrates and the Athenians; disputed the right of that people to Amphipolis, which had been acknowledged by the general council of Greece; and his opposition rendered fruitless their well-directed endeavours to recover that important establishment. The Athenians found an avenger in Bardyllis the Illyrian, to whom Perdiccas had denied the tribute that had been paid by his predecessors Argæus and Alexander. Bardyllis maintained his claim by force of arms. The Macedonians met him in the field, but were totally defeated with the loss of four thousand men. Perdiccas was taken prisoner, and soon after died of his wounds. His son Amyntas was an infant. Thebes, having lost her pre-eminence in Greece, was unable to protect her distant allies. Athens was hostile, and Macedon surrounded by enemies on every side, already experienced the fury of Barbarian invaders. Not only the Illyrians and Bardyllis, who ravaged the west, but the Pæonians, a powerful and warlike tribe, having received some cause of offence from Perdiccas, now indulged their revenge, and insisted the northern frontier without interruption or control. The Thracians still supported the cause of Pausanias, whom they prepared to send back into Macedon at the head of a numerous army. Ptolemy was dead; but Argæus, the ancient competitor of King Amyntas, emboldened by the victory of the Illyrians, who had formerly placed him on the throne, renewed his pretensions

Macedon distracted by two pretenders to the throne, and desolated by four foreign armies.

* Demosth. de falsa Legat.

† Diodor. l. xvi. sect. 2.

to that dignity, and, grown old in intrigue, easily persuaded the Athenians, by the hopes of recovering Amphipolis, to exert themselves in his favour, especially against the son and brother of Perdiccas, by whose insolence and ingratitude they were justly provoked and disgusted. . . . Impelled by such motives, the Athenians launched their fleet, and sailed towards the coast of Macedon, with three thousand heavy-armed men, commanded by Mantias.*

Such were the evils which threatened, and the calamities which oppressed that unfortunate and distracted kingdom, when Philip appeared, asserting, undaunted, the rights of his infant nephew, against two candidates for the throne, and four formidable armies. A prince of less courage than Philip would have shrunk from a design seemingly desperate and impracticable; and had courage been his principal virtue, he would have only heightened the disorders which he hoped to remedy. But in this emergency, the young Macedonian (for he was only in his twenty-third year) displayed those extraordinary abilities which distinguished his reign, and render it the most interesting spectacle that history can present to those who are delighted with surveying, not the vulgar revolutions of force and fortune, but the active energies and resources of a vigorous and comprehensive mind. Such was the obscurity in which his merit had hitherto lain concealed from the

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Amidst these calamities Philip arrives in Macedon. Olymp. cv. 1. A. C. 360.

* Diodorus, lib. xiv. p. 47. Olivier Nicé de Philippe, p. 47.
† Comp. Diodor. p. 510. & Justin. l. ix. c. viii.

G. H. A. P.

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His education, and transactions preceding that period.

public, that historians* disagree as to the place of his residence, when he was informed of the defeat, and death of his brother Perdiccas. From the age of fifteen he had lived chiefly in Thebes, in the family and under the direction of Epaminondas, whose lessons and example could not fail to excite, in a kindred mind, the emulation of excellence, and the ardour of patriotism†. It is probable, that, agreeably to the custom of Greece and Rome, where the youth alternately frequented the school and the camp, and might sometimes find a school of philosophy in the tent of a general, that Philip accompanied the Theban hero in many of his military expeditions. It is certain that, attended suitably to his rank, he visited the principal republics of Greece, whose institutions in peace and war he examined with a sagacity far superior to his years. The tactics of the Lacedæmonians were the first new establishment which he introduced into Macedonia. Nor was the improvement of his knowledge the only fruit of his travels. The brother of a king found an easy access to whomever he had an interest to know and cultivate. Even in Athens then hostile to Thebes, and naturally unfavourable

* Diodorus places him in Thebes; Athenæus, l. ii. p. 506, in Macedonia; and adds, *ἀποφύγετο δὲ τὰ πάντα διωκόμενος, ὡς ἀνέβητο Περδικκᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ τῶν τοῦ κράτους ἀνδρῶν.* Words which admirably correspond to the rapid motions of Philip after the death of Perdiccas.

† Plutarch in Pelopida.

Plutarch speaks with the partiality of a Boeotian for Epaminondas, and the resentment of a native of Charonea against Philip. See Plutarch in Pelopid.

|| Plutarch in Alexand. Athenæus, lxi. p. 506.

to a pupil of Epaminondas, Philip acquired the friendship and esteem of Plato*, Isocratest, and Aristotle; and the early connection which he formed with the principal leaders of Athens and the neighbouring republics, contributed, perhaps, in no small degree, to the success of his future designs||.

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His seasonable appearance in Macedon, after the defeat and death of Perdiccas, suddenly changed the fortune of that seemingly devoted kingdom. Yet our admiration of Philip ought not to make us overlook the favourable circumstances which seconded his abilities, and conspired to promote his success. The places of strength built by Archelaus furnished a secure retreat to the remains of Perdiccas' army; the Macedonians, though conquered, were not subdued; they had considerable garrisons in the fortresses and walled towns scattered over the kingdom; their whole forces had not been engaged in the unfortunate battle with the Illyrians†; and those fierce invaders, impatient of delay, and only solicitous for plunder, having ravaged the open country, returned home to enjoy the fruits of their violence and rapine. They probably intended soon to assault Macedon with increased numbers, and to complete their devast-

The Illyrians evacuated Macedon.

* Athenæus, l. xi. Elian, l. iv. c. xix.

† Isocratis Epistolæ, & Oratio and Philipp.

‡ Aristotle at this time lived in the academy with Plato, where, most probably, Philip first saw him. Dionys. Halicarnas. Epist. ad Ammæum.

§ Demosthen. passim.

§ Thucyd. l. xi. p. 168.

¶ Athenæus, l. xi. p. 506.

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State of
Thrace
and Pæo-
nia.

ations; but they seem to have been alike unqualified to concert or to pursue any permanent plan of conquest; and being distinguished, as historians relate, by their blooming complexions, active vigour, and longevity*, they were not less distinguished by that irregular and capricious mode of acting, and that inattention to remote consequences, which characterise the manners of Barbarians.

The warriors of Pæonia and Thrace† were less formidable by their numbers, and equally contemptible for their ignorance and indocility. In early times, the Pæonians indeed had been regarded as a tribe less savage, and more considerable than their Macedonian neighbours; but the former had remained stationary, in the rudeness of their primitive state, while the latter had been improved by a Grecian colony, and by frequent communication and intercourse with the Grecian republics. Of the Thracians we have had occasion to speak in the preceding parts of this work. The destructive ravages of Seuthes‡ represent the ordinary condition of that unsettled and inhospitable country, sometimes united under one chief, more frequently divided among many, whose mutual hostilities banished agriculture, industry, and every useful art. Exclusive of the Grecian settlements on the coast, Thrace contained not any city, nor even any considerable town. The Barbarian Cotys, who was

* Lucian in Macrobiis, & Gortel. Alexand. apud Plinios, lib. vii. cap. clvii.

† Cornel. Nepos in Iphicrat. Xenoph. Anab. I. vii. p. 393.

‡ Hippocrat. de Epidem.

|| See vol. iii. p. 235, & seqq.

dignified with the title of king, led a wandering life, encamping on the banks of rivers with his flocks and followers*. War and pasturage formed the only sources of his grandeur, and even the only means of his subsistence.

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Such were the first enemies with whom Philip had to contend. Their own capricious unsteadiness delivered him from the Illyrians. To the Pæonians, who ravaged the north, he either sent a deputation, or applied in person; and partly by bribes, partly by artful promises and flattery, persuaded the invaders to retire. The same arts prevailed with the selfish King of Thrace†, whose avarice readily sacrificed the cause of Pausanias, while Philip thought the remaining wealth of Macedon usefully consumed in removing those barbarous foes; that he might resist, with undivided strength, the more formidable invasion of Argæus and the Athenians.

Philip disarms the resentment of those countries.

The Athenian fleet already anchored before the harbour of Methonè; Argæus, with his numerous followers, had encamped in the province of Pieria; and their united forces prepared to march northward to Edessa, or Egæ, the ancient capital of Macedon, where they expected to be joined by a powerful party, whom fear or inclination would bring to the standard of the banished king. The

Philip declared King of Macedon. Olymp. cv. 1. A. C. 360.

* Athenæus, l. xii. p. 331.

† Dionys. Sicul. l. xiv. sect. 3. [Horace alludes to these events.]

diffidit urbium

Portas vir Macedo; & subruit æmulo

Reges muneribus.

Lib. iii. Ode 16.

C H A P. XXXIII. Macedonians who adhered to the interests of Perdiccas, or rather of his infant son, had been dispirited by the recent victory of the Illyrians; and the misfortunes consequent on that event. But the carnal exhortations, and undaunted deportment of Philip, rescued them from their despair. They admired the dexterity with which he had dissuaded the resentment of the Thracians and Paonians. His graceful person, insinuating address, and winning affability, qualities which he possessed in a very uncommon degree, gained the affection of the Macedonians; who either recollected, or were studiously reminded of a prophecy, that announced great glory to their nation under the reign of the son of Amyntas. In an assembly held at Ege, they exclaimed with one consent, *This, in the man whom the gods point out as the founder of the Macedonian greatness. The dangerous condition of the times admits not of an infant reign. Let us obey the celestial voice, and entrust the sceptre to hands alike worthy to hold, and able to defend it.*

This proposal seemed not extraordinary in a country which had long been accustomed to interruption in the lineal order of succession. Amyntas was set aside, and Philip, who had hitherto possessed

† Echiv. de fals. Legatione.
‡ In the Sybilline verses preserved by Pausanias (in Achaic.) Philip is named as the founder of the Macedonian greatness, and the destruction of the kingdom is foretold under another Philip. These verses, though evidently composed after the event, serve to confirm the fact, that the superstition of the multitude was wrought upon for the purposes of Philip. Justin. l. vii. c. vi.

† Ibid. idem.

‡ Ibid. l. vii. c. vi.

only the delegated power of regency was conferred with the royal title and authority. C H A P. XXXIII.

While all grants of them were terminated with the defeat of Argæus, the obsequious admiration of their young king, the sole claims of Argæus could only be maintained by arms. Attended by his Athenian allies, he marched towards Edessa; but that stronghold shut its gates against him. Dispirited by this repulse, he made no farther attempts to gain admission into any of the Macedonian cities, but directed his course backward to Methone. Philip, who had now collected sufficient strength to take the field, harassed his retreat, cut his rear to pieces, and defeated him in a general engagement, in which Argæus himself fell with the flower of his army. The Greeks or Barbarians were made prisoners of war.

It was on this occasion that Philip first displayed that deep and artful policy, which in the course of a long reign, gained him such a powerful ascendancy over the passions of other men, and enabled him uniformly to govern his own by the interest of his ambition. In the midst of prosperity, his proud and lofty spirit must have been highly provoked by the Athenians, as well as by the followers of Argæus; and the barbarous maxims and practices which prevailed in that age, left him at full liberty to wreak his vengeance on the unhappy prisoners of both, who had fallen into his hands. But

* Diodorus, l. xvi. sect. 3.

† Diodorus, *ibid.* & Demosth. in Aristocrat.

Philip, *lustrum* l. vii. c. vi.

† *lustrum* l. vii. c. vi.

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XXXIII.

the interest of Philip required him rather to soothe than to irritate the people of Athens, and to obtain by good offices (what he could not command by force) the confidence of his Macedonian subjects. The captives of the latter nation were called into his presence, rebuked with gentleness and humanity, admitted to swear allegiance to their new masters, and promiscuously distributed in the body of his army. The Athenian prisoners were treated in a manner still more extraordinary*. Instead of demanding any ransom for their persons, he restored their baggage unexamined, and entertained them at his table with such condescending hospitality, that they returned home, full of admiration for the young King, and deeply persuaded of his attachment and respect for their republic.

Philip
amuses the
Athenians
with a
treaty of
peace and
friendship
Olymp.
cv. 2.
A. C. 339.

They had only time to blaze forth the praises of Philip, when his ambassadors arrived at Athens. He knew that the loss of Amphipolis principally excited the resentment of the Athenians; he knew that the interest of Macedon required that resentment to be appeased. Impressed with these ideas, he renounced all jurisdiction over Amphipolis, which

* The fair side of Philip's character is described by Diodor. l. i. c. xvi. p. 510, & seqq. and 539. By Just. l. ix. c. viii. The most disadvantageous description of him is given by Demosthenes, passing, and by Theopompus in Athenæus, l. iv. c. xix. l. vi. c. xvi. & l. x. c. 2. Cicero seems to have totally disregarded the angry assertions of Demosthenes; when, in speaking of Philip and Alexander, he says, "Alter semper magnus, alter sæpe turpissimus." But the artificial character of Philip, which varied with his interests, merits the panegyrics not the invectives too liberally bestowed on it.

† Demosthenes in Aristocrat.

† Ibid.

was formally declared a free and independent city, subject only to the government of its own equitable laws. This measure, together with the distinguished treatment of the Athenian prisoners, insured success to his embassy. An ancient treaty was renewed, that had long subsisted between his father Amyntas and the Athenians. That capricious and unsteady people, not less susceptible of gratitude than prone to anger, were thus lulled into repose, at a time when fortune having placed them at the head of Greece, both their present power and ancient glory urged them to take the front of the battle against Philip. Confiding in the insidious treaty with that prince, they engaged in a ruinous war with their allies; and ceased during several years, to make any opposition to the ambitious designs of the Macedonian.

The young King having given such illustrious proofs of his abilities in negotiation and war, availed himself of the affectionate admiration of his subjects to establish, during a season of tranquillity, such institutions as might maintain and extend his own power, and confirm the solid grandeur of Macedon. The laws and maxims which prevailed in the heroic ages, and which, as we have already observed, had been early introduced into that kingdom, circumscribed the royal authority within very narrow bounds. The chiefs and nobles, especially in the more remote provinces, regarded themselves as the rivals and equals of their sovereign. In

C H A P.
XXXI.

Philip institutes the order of *spargan*, *companion*, *Olymp.*
A.C. 339.

* Polyæn. Stratag. l. iv. c. 17.

† See vol. iii. c. xxxii.

CHAP. foreign war they followed his standard; but they
 XXXIII. often shook his throne by domestic sedition; and, amidst the scanty materials for explaining the internal state of Macedon in ancient times, we may discover several instances in which they disavowed their allegiance, and assumed independent government over considerable districts of the country*. The moment of glory and success seemed the most favourable for extinguishing this dangerous spirit, and quashing the proud hopes of the nobles. In this design Philip proceeded with that artful policy which characterises his reign. From the bravest of the Macedonian youth, he selected a choice body of companions†, who, being distinguished by honourable appellations, and entertained at the royal table, attended the King's person in war and in hunting. Their intimacy with the sovereign, which was regarded as a proof of their merit, obliged them to superior diligence in all the severe duties of a military life‡. The generous youths, animated with the hope of glory, vied with each other to gain admission into this distinguished order; and while, on one hand, they served as hostages for the allegiance of their families, they formed on the other, an useful seminary of future generals, who, after conquering for Philip and Alexander,

* Strabo, l. vii. p. 326. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. v.

† Arrian, & Elian.

‡ Elian, l. xiv. c. 69.

|| Arrian says, *ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ἀξιώματι τοῦ βασιλέως*, "the sons of men in office;" which well agrees with the idea of their being hostages for the fidelity of their parents. He also ascribes the institution to Philip. *Ex quoque ad hoc finem.* Arrian, l. iv. p. 89.

§ Curtius, l. viii. c. 6.

at length conquered for themselves, and divided the spoils of the ancient world.

G H A P.
XXXII.

It is ignorantly said by some writers*, that Philip, in the first year of his reign, invented the phalanx, a body of six thousand men carrying short swords, fit either for cutting or thrusting; strong bucklers, four feet in length and two and a half in breadth; and pikes fourteen cubits long, which heavy-armed brigade, usually arranged sixteen deep formed the main battle of the Macedonians. But this is nothing different from the armour and arrangement which had always prevailed among the Greeks, and which Philip adopted in their most perfect form; nor is there reason to think that a prince, who knew the danger of changing what the experience of ages had approved, made any alteration in the weapons or tactics of that people. His attention was more judiciously directed to procure, in sufficient abundance, arms, horses, and other necessary instruments of war; in reviewing and exercising

His military arrangements.

* Diodorus Siculus, l. xvi. s. 3. and all the Roman writers of Greek history. It was natural for the Romans, who began to know Greece about Minotora almost at the same time, and who found the phalanx most complete in the latter, to suppose it invented in that country.

† The improvement in the countermarch, to which Philip gave the appearance of advancing, instead of retreating, mentioned by Elman in his tactics, c. xviii. was borrowed, as this author tells us, from the Laedamonians. If Philip increased the phalanx, usually less numerous, to six thousand men, this was far from an improvement; and the latter kings of Macedon, who swelled it to sixteen thousand, only rendered that order of battle more unwieldy and inconvenient. The highest perfection of Grecian tactics is to be found in Xenophon's expedition. See vol. iii. c. xvi. p. 208, & seqq. See also Polyb. l. xvii. p. 756 & Liv. l. xli. c. 46.

CHAP.
XXXIII.

Conquers
Pæonia.
Olymp.
cv. 3.
A. C. 358.

Defeats the
Illyrians,
and ex-
tends his
territory
to the Io-
nian sea.

his troops; and in accustoming them to that austere and laborious life*, which is the best preparation for the field.

The military resources which his activity had provided, his ambition did not allow to remain long unemployed. The death of Agis, the most warlike chieftain, or, as he is called by an historian†, King of the Pæonians, drew Philip into the field, to revenge recent injuries which those Barbarians had inflicted on Macedon. Among a people where the laws of peace or war are neglected or unknown, almost every thing depends on the precarious character of their leaders. Deprived of the valour of Agis, the Pæonians lost all hopes of defence. Philip over-ran their country without resistance; carried off slaves and plunder; imposed a tribute on their chiefs; received hostages; and reduced Pæonia to an absolute dependence on Macedon.

It is probable that, according to the practice of the age, he permitted or required a certain number of the vanquished to follow his standard; for the Pæonians were no sooner reduced, than Philip, to whom all seasons seemed alike proper for war, undertook a winter's campaign against Bardyllis and the Illyrians, the hereditary enemies of his family and kingdom. He marched towards the frontier of Illyria‡ at the head of ten thousand

* Polyzenus, l. iv. c. 3. Frontin. Strat. l. iv. c. 1.

† Diodorus, l. xvi. sect. 4.

‡ The Greek name of this country is *Illyria*, but more commonly *Illyria*, from its inhabitants. Vid. Arrian, l. i. c. 1. The Latin

foot and six hundred horse, and, before entering the country, animated the resentment and valour of his troops by a military oration, after the custom of the Greeks, whose manners he seemed, on every occasion, ambitious to imitate. Indignation of past injuries, the honour of his subjects, and the glory of his crown, might be topics proper to influence the Macedonian soldiers*, who could not fully enter into the more refined motives of their sovereign. Illyria had been extended on the east, to the prejudice of Macedon, which it totally excluded from the excellent harbours on the Adriatic. This was an important consideration to a prince, who seems to have early meditated the design of raising a naval power. Besides this, it was impossible for Philip to undertake with safety the other measures which he had in view, should he leave his kingdom exposed to the predatory incursions of a neighbouring enemy, who, unless they feared Macedon, must always be formidable to that country. Directed by such solid principles of policy, rather than governed by resentment, or allured by the splendour of victory, Philip proceeded for-

Illyria is *Illyrichen*; most English writers of ancient history use *Illyria*, probably from the French *Illyrie*. The Greek *Illyria* is described by Strabo, l. vii. p. 317. It comprehended the eastern shore of the Adriatic, between Epirus and Thracia. The Latin *Illyrium* had a significant, but more extensive, application. *Illyria*, in Gibbon's History, vol. i. p. 27.

* The heads of the speech are given, indirectly, in the fragments of Theopompus.

† Strabo says *αἰνῆτα τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς* (scilicet *οὐραῖς*) *αἰνῆτα* *αἰνῆτα* *αἰνῆτα*, and adds, that the shore of Illyria is more abundant, as the opposite coast of Italy is defective, in good harbours. Strabo, l. vii.

ward, with the caution necessary to be observed in an hostile territory. After a fruitless negotiation, Bardyllis met him in the field with an adequate body of infantry, but with only four hundred horse. The precise scene of the engagement is unknown. The Macedonian phalanx attacked the Illyrian column* in front, while the targeteers and light-armed troops galled its flank, and the cavalry harassed its rear. The Illyrians, thus surrounded on every side, were crushed between opposite assaults, without having an opportunity to exert their full strength. Their resistance, however, must have been vigorous, since seven thousand were left on the field of battle, and with them their gallant leader Bardyllis, who fell, at the age of ninety, fighting bravely on horseback. The loss of their experienced chief, and of the flower of their youthful warriors, broke the strength and courage of the Illyrian tribes, who sent a deputation to Philip, humbly craving peace, and submitting their fortune to the will of the conqueror. Philip granted them the same terms which he

* The Illyrians were drawn up in the order of battle called *antike*, from *antike*, which clearly points out its form.

† Frontinus Strateg. l. ii. c. 3.

‡ It should seem from Diodorus that the Illyrians had entertained the same superstitious terror of neglecting the interment of the dead, which prevailed among the Greeks. Yet Diodorus, perhaps, only used a privilege too common among historians, of transferring their own feelings to those concerning whom they write. He says that Philip restored their dead, and erected a trophy. Pausanias (in Bæotic.) denies that either Philip or his son Alexander ever erected any of those monuments of victory; which practice, he says, was contrary to a Macedonian maxim, established as early as the time of

had lately imposed on the Pæonians. That part of *Illyria*, which lies east of the lake *Lychnidus*, he joined to Macedonia; and, probably, built a town and settled a colony on the side of the lake, which was a fertile country, and abounded in different kinds of fishes, highly esteemed by the ancients. The town and lake of *Lychnidus* were fifty miles distant from the *Ionian sea*; but such was the ascendancy that the arms and policy of Philip acquired over his neighbours, that the inhabitants of the intermediate district soon adopted the language and manners of their conquerors; and their territory, hitherto unconnected with any foreign power, sank into such an absolute dependence on Macedonia, that many ancient geographers considered it as a province of that country.*

Having settled the affairs of *Illyria*, Philip returned home, not to enjoy the sweets of victory and repose, but to pursue more important and more arduous designs than those which he had hitherto carried on with such signal success. He had secured and extended the northern and western frontier of Macedonia; but the rich southern shores, chiefly inhabited by Greeks, presented at once a more tempting prize, and a more formidable enemy. The confederacy of *Olynthus*, having thrown off

Philip's designs against *Amphipolis*.
Olymp. cv. 4.
A. C. 357.

Caranus, when a lion, having overturned one of his trophies, the wise founder of the monarchy regarded this event as a warning to forbear raising them in future. But the medals of Philip and Alexander, of which the reverse is sometimes charged with trophies, refute the assertion of *Pausanias*, which is likewise contradicted by *Arrian*, *Curtius*, and all the writers of the life, or expedition, of Alexander.

* *Strabo*, l. xii. p. 327.

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XXXIII.

the yoke of Sparta, had become more powerful than ever. It could send into the field ten thousand heavy-armed men, and a large body of well-disciplined cavalry. Most towns of the Chalcidice had become its allies or subjects; and this populous and wealthy province, together with Pangæus on the right, and Pieria on the left, the cities of both which were either independent, or subject to the Athenians, formed a barrier sufficient not only to guard the Grecian states against Macedonia, but even to threaten the safety of that Kingdom. Every motive concurred to direct the active policy of Philip towards acquisitions immediately necessary in themselves, and essential to the completion of his remote purposes. In the course of twenty years, he accomplished his designs, and conquered Greece; often varying his means, never changing his end; and notwithstanding the circumstances and events that continually thwarted his ambition, we behold the opening and gradual progress of a vast plan, every step in which paved the way for that which followed, till the whole ended in the most signal triumph, perhaps, ever attained by human prudence, over courage and fortune.

Import-
ance of
that place.

The importance of Olynthus and Chalcidice could not divert the sagacity of Philip from Amphipolis, which he regarded as a more necessary, though less splendid conquest. The possession of Amphipolis, which would connect Macedonia with the sea, and secure to that Kingdom many commercial advantages, opened a road to the woods and mines of mount Pangæus, the former of which

was so essential to the raising of a naval power, and the latter to the forming and keeping on foot a sufficient military force. The place itself, Philip, in the beginning of his reign, had declared independent, to avoid a rupture with the Athenians, who still asserted their pretensions to an ancient and long favoured colony. But their measures to regain Amphipolis had hitherto been rendered ineffectual by the caprice or perfidy of Charidemus, a native of Euboea, who, from the common level of a soldier of fortune, had risen to the command of a considerable body of mercenaries, frequently employed by the indolence, and licentiousness of the Athenians, a people extremely averse both to the fatigue and restraint of personal service. They determined, however, to renew their attempts for recovering their dominion, while the Amphipolitans, having tasted the sweets of liberty, prepared to maintain their independence.

In this posture of affairs, the hostile designs of Philip, which all his artifice had not been able to conceal from the suspicious jealousy of the new republic, alarmed the magistrates of Amphipolis, and obliged them to seek protection from the Olynthians, who readily admitted them into their confederacy. Emboldened by this alliance, they set at defiance the menaces of their neighbouring, as well as of their more distant, enemy; and their imprudent insolence readily furnished Philip with specious grounds of hostility. The Olynthians perceived that the indignation of this prince must soon break forth into action, and overwhelm the

Amphipolis enters into the Olynthian confederacy.

CHAP. Amphipolitans; while they themselves might be
XXXIII involved in the ruin of their new confederate. To
 anticipate this danger, they sent ambassadors to
 Athens, requesting an alliance with that republic
 against the natural enemy of both states, and an
 enemy whose successful activity rendered him a
 just object of terror.

The in-
 trigues of
 Philip pre-
 vent an
 alliance
 between
 Athens
 and
 Olynthus.

This alliance, had it taken place, must have given
 a fatal blow to the rising greatness of Macedon,
 which as yet was incapable of contending with the
 united strength of Olynthus and Athens. The
 spies and emissaries of Philip (for he had already
 begun to employ those odious, but necessary, in-
 struments of policy) immediately gave the alarm.
 The prince himself was deeply sensible of the
 danger and determined to repel it with equal
 vigour and celerity. His agents reached Athens
 before any thing was concluded with the Olynthian
 deputies. The popular leaders and orators were
 bribed and gained; the magistrates and senate were
 flattered and deceived by the most plausible decla-
 rations and promises. A negotiation was imme-
 diately set on foot, by which Philip stipulated to
 conquer Amphipolis for the Athenians, on condi-
 tion that they surrendered to him Pydna, a place
 of far less importance. He promised, besides, to
 confer many other advantages on the republic,
 which it was not proper at present to mention, but
 which time would reveal.* Amused by the arti-

* Καὶ τὸ θυλλοῦμαιον πρὸς ἀπορρίτον αὐτοῦ. Demostheni Olynth. l. p. 6.
 edit. Wolfii. It is strange that Wolfius has changed the order of the
 Olynthian orations, so distinctly marked by Dion. Halicarn. in his letter to
 Ammaeus.

king of the Macedonian, deceived by the perfidy of their own magistrates, and elated with the hopes of recovering Amphipolis, the great object of their ambition, the senate of the Five Hundred (for the transaction was carried on with such haste as allowed not time for assembling the people) rejected with disdain the overtures of the Olynthians*, who returned home disgusted and indignant.

They had scarcely time to communicate to their countrymen the angry passions which agitated their own breasts, when the ambassadors of Philip craved audience in the assembly of Olynthus. That artful prince affected to condole with the Olynthians on the affront which they had received from the insolence of Athens; but, at the same time, testified his surprise, that they should condescend to court the distant protection of that proud republic, when they might find in Macedon an ally near at hand, who wished for nothing more earnestly than to enter into equal and lasting engagements with their confederacy. As a proof of his moderation and sincerity, he offered immediately to put them in possession of Anthemus, a town of some importance in their neighbourhood, the jurisdiction of which had long been claimed by the kings of Macedon: also in strong terms assuring them of his intentions to deserve their gratitude by still more important services, and particularly by employing his arms to

Artifices
by which
he gained
the Olyn-
thians.

* Demosthenes expresses it in the strongest terms, as if they had driven the Olynthians from Athens: "ὅτι Οὐλύθιοι ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθῆναις ἐβλήθησαν."
Demosthen. Olynth. i. p. 6.

† Demosthen. Philip. ii. 4.

C H A P. reduce the cities of Pydna and Potidea; continued
XXXIII ing the opposite sides of the Thermaic gulph; places, therefore, of considerable value, which he wished to see dependent on Olynthus rather than as at present, subject to Athens.

Philip besieges Amphipolis.
 Olynthus.
 Olymp.
 ov. 4.
 A. C. 357.

The immediate offers of Philip, his professions and promises, in which, as they suited his interest, he doubtless was sincere, and still more, his secret practices with some powerful men of Olynthus, effectually prevailed with that republic to abandon the cause of Amphipolis, whose imprudent inhabitants had been at little pains to prevent those offences, and complaints which naturally arise between the jealous members of an unequal confederacy. By these intrigues, the Macedonian not only removed all opposition to his views on the part of the Olynthians, but acquired the sincere friendship of that people, who were ready to reinforce his arms, and to second his most ambitious designs. He therefore prepared for action, because he might now act with safety; marched rapidly towards Amphipolis, and pressed that city with a vigorous siege. The inhabitants, deeply affected by the near prospect of a calamity which they had taken little care to prevent, had recourse, in their distress, to Athens. Thither they dispatched Hierax and Stratocles, two of their most distinguished citizens, to represent the danger of alliance between Philip and Olynthus, to intreat the Athenians to accept the sincere repentance of their unfortunate colony, and once more to take Amphipolis under the protection of their fleet.

As the Athenians were deeply engaged in the social war, yet the hopes of recovering so important a settlement might have directed their attention to Macedonia, had not the vigilant policy of Philip sent them a letter, renewing the assurances of his friendship, acknowledging their pretensions to the city, which he actually besieged, and of which he artfully said, that, in terms of his recent engagement, he hoped shortly to put them in possession. Amused by these insinuating representations, the Athenians treated the deputies of Amphipolis with as little respect as they had lately done those of Olynthus. The besieged city was thus deprived of all hopes of relief; Philip pressed the attack with new vigour; a breach was made in the walls; and the Amphipolitans, after an obstinacy of defence which could have no other effect than to provoke the resentment of the conqueror, at length surrendered at discretion.

CHAP.
XXXIII

Amuses
the Athenians.

Amphipolis surrenders.
Olymp. cv. 4.
A. C. 357.

The prudent Macedonian always preferred his own profit to the punishment of his enemies. It was his interest to preserve and to aggrandise, not to depopulate, Amphipolis. He banished a few daring leaders; whose seditious or patriotic spirit might disturb the measures of his government. The bulk of the citizens were treated with mildness. Their commonwealth was incorporated with Macedonia, from which Philip resolved that it should never be dismembered, notwithstanding his recent promises to the Athenians.

Is annexed to Macedonia.

* Diodor. l. xvi. c. viii. Demosthen. Olynth. iii. sect. 4-17.

C H A P.

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Philip
puts the
Olyn-
thians in
possession
of Pydna
and Poti-
dæa.

That he might win himself against the resentment of a people, whom, if he could not deceive, he was determined to defy; he cultivated, with great earnestness, the Olynthian confederacy, and having besieged and taken the towns of Pydna and Potidæa, he readily ceded them to the Olynthians, who had but feebly assisted him in making these conquests. In the whole transaction Philip affected to act merely as an auxiliary. The Athenian garrison in Potidæa, who had surrendered themselves prisoners of war, he took under his immediate protection, and dismissed them without ransom, not less lamenting that the necessity of his affairs, and his alliance with Olynthus, obliged him to oppose the interests of their republic, for which he entertained the most sincere respect.

Philip
parades
his con-
quests in
Thrace.

It is impossible that the Athenians, weak and credulous as they were, should have been the dupes of this gross artifice. But they could not immediately withdraw their exertion from the social war, the events of which grew continually more unprosperous. Philip, ever vigilant and active, profited of this favourable diversion, to pursue his conquests in Thrace; to which the possession of Amphipolis afforded him an opening. In the beginning of his reign, he had found it necessary to purchase a peace from Cotys, who still governed that country, but from whom Philip could not actually apprehend any formidable opposition. The late acquaintance of that Barbarian with the Grecian

* Diodor. l. xvi. c. viii. & Demosth. Philip. ii. & Olynth. i.

religion and manners, which he had adopted in consequence of his connection with Iphicrates and the Athenians, served only to deprave his faculties and to cloud his reason. We should pronounce absolutely mad, the man who fancied himself en-
 dowed of Minerva; but the ancients, who believed that the gods often appeared in a human form, regarded with more tenderness this frantic enthusiasm. Celys was allowed to possess his freedom and his crown; whether, with his ambulatory court, he traversed the inhospitable mountains of Thrace, or pitched his tents on the fragrant banks of the Strymon or the Nessus; or, to enjoy with more privacy the favours of his celestial mistress, penetrated into the deepest recesses of the beautiful forests which adorned the central division of his kingdom.
 At the approach of the Macedonians, having abandoned the grove of Onaguris, the favourite scene of his mild pursuits and romantic enjoyments*, he endeavoured to stop the progress of the enemy by a letter; but a letter from such a man was calculated to excite only ridicule or pity. Philip penetrated eastward thirty miles beyond Amphipolis, to the town of Crenida, situated at the foot of Mount Pangæus. He admired the solitary beauty of the surrounding district, which being bounded on one side by the sea, and on the other by lofty mountains, was watered by many streams and rivulets, which, tempering the dryness of the soil, produced the finest and most delicious

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XXIII.

Takes possession of the gold mines at Crenida, afterwards called Philippi. Olymp. cv. 4. A. C. 357.

* Theopomp. apud Athenæum, l. xii. p. 531.

C H A P. XXXIII. fruit, and flowers, especially roses of a peculiar hue and fragrance. But the attention of Philip was attracted by objects more important, the rich mines of gold in that neighbourhood, formerly brought by colonies from Thasos and from Athens, but totally neglected since the ignorant Thracians had become masters of Cranide. Philip expelled those Barbarians from a possession which they regarded unworthy to hold. Having descended into the gold-mines, he traced, by the help of torches, the weary labours of the ancient proprietors. By his care the water was drained off, the canals, broken or choked up, were repaired; and the bosom of the earth was again opened and ransacked with eager avidity by a prince who well knew the value of the precious metals. A Macedonian colony was planted at Cranide, which thenceforth assumed the name of Philippit, as some bestowed also on the golden coins struck by order of Philip, to the annual amount of nearly a thousand talents, or two hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Philip settles the affairs of Thessaly.

Having effected the main purpose of his Thracian expedition, the prudence of Philip set him

Senec. Natur. Quæst. l. v. p. 760. & Demosthen. in Leptin.

† The fatal defeat and death of Brutus and Cassius have eclipsed in their melancholy splendour, all the preceding events which dignified Philippit. There liberty expired, and virtue yielded to force.

Cum fracta virtus, & minaces
Turpe solum tetigere mento. HORACE.

Regale numisma Philippis.

‡ Diodor. l. ix. c. lx. Justin. l. vi. c. xli. speaks differently; but the whole of that chapter bears evident marks of ignorance and error.

to his conquests in that country, and carried his arms into Thessaly, which, by the murder of Alexander of Phera, had got three tyrants instead of one. These were, Pissiphonus, Philotas, and Lycophron, the brothers-in-law, the assassins, and the successors of Alexander. The resentment of the Thessalians, and the valour of the Macedonian troops, totally defeated these oppressors of their country, who were reduced to such humiliating terms as seemed sufficient to prevent them from being thenceforth formidable either to their own subjects or their neighbours. The Thessalians, who were susceptible of all impressions, but incapable of preserving any, concluded, in the first emotions of their gratitude, an agreement with their deliverer, by which they surrendered to him the revenues arising from their fairs and towns of commerce, as well as all the conveniences of their harbours and shipping; and, extraordinary as this cession was, Philip found means to render it effectual and permanent.

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Advantages which he derived from that country.

He immediately contracted an alliance with Amyntas, King of Epirus, a small principality which skirted the western frontier of Thessaly. In his excursions from Thebes, Philip had early seen Olympias, sister to that prince, whose wit and spirit, joined to the lively graces of her youth and beauty, had made a deep impression on his heart. They were initiated, at the same time, in the mysteries of Ceres, during the triennial festival in the

Philip marries Olympias, Olymp. cv 4. A. C. 357.

• Diodor. l. xvi. c. xiv. & Plut. in Pelopid.

† Demosth. Philip. l. 10. Polyæn. Strateg. l. iv. c. xix.

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isle of Samothrace, which had been long distinguished as Eleusis* itself, by the peculiar worship and protection of this beautiful goddess. But the active ambition, which employed and engrossed the first years of Philip's reign, should seem to have banished every other passion; when his expedition into Thessaly recalled the image of Olympias. Their first interview naturally revived his admiration or love; and, as the Kings of Epirus were lineally descended from Achilles, the match appeared every way suitable; Arybbas readily yielded his consent, and the beautiful princess was conducted into Macedon†.

During the solemnities of his nuptials, the neighbouring princes take arms.

The nuptials of Philip were solemnised at Pella with unusual pomp and splendour. Several months were destined to religious shows and processions, to gymnastic games and exercises, to musical and dramatic entertainments. The young and fortunate prince naturally took a principal share in all these scenes of festivity; and it is probable that, amidst the more elegant amusements of his court, Philip might discover that strong propensity to vicious indulgence, that delight in buffoons and flatterers, and other disgraceful ministers of his more criminal pleasures, which, however counteracted and balanced by his ambition and magnanimity, disgraced and tarnished the succeeding glories of his reign. It is certain that the voluptuous idleness in which he seemed sunk, encouraged the hopes of his enemies‡. The tributary princes of

* See vol. iii. c. xxi. p. 48.

† Diodor. l. xvi. c. xxii.

‡ Justin. l. vii. c. vi.

Thrace and Illyria prepared to rebel; the King of C H A P.
Thrace concurred in their designs, which were XXXIII.
concerted with more caution than is usual with Bar-
barians; and this general conspiracy of neighbour-
ing states might have repressed, for a while, the for-
tune of Macedon, if Philip had not been reasonably
informed of the danger by his faithful partisans
and embassies in those countries.

Early in the ensuing spring he took the field Philip
with the flower of the Macedonian troops. Par- quashes
menio, the general in whom he had most confi- their con-
dence, crushed the rebellion in Illyria. Philip was spiracy.
equally successful in Paeonia and Thrace. Olymp.
While he returned from the latter, he was informed cvi. 1.
of the victory of Parmenio. A second messenger A. C. 356.
acquainted him that his horses had gained the prize
in the chariot-races at the Olympic games; a vic-
tory which he regarded as far more honourable,
and which, as it proved him a legitimate son of
Greece, he carefully commemorated, by impres-
sing a chariot on his coins. Almost at the same
time a third messenger arrived to tell him that
Olympias had brought forth a prince at Pella;
to whom, as born amidst such auspicious circum-
stances, the diviners announced a life of boundless
prosperity.

Such a rapid tide of good fortune did not over- Philip's
set the wisdom of Philip, if we may judge by the letter to
first authentic transaction which immediately fol- Aristotle,
lowed. announcing the
birth of
Alexander.

* Plut. in Alexand.

CHAP. XXXIII. Toward these events. This was the correspondence with Aristotle the philosopher, whose merit Philip had early discerned at Athens, while the young Stagira still resided with his master Plato. The first letter (fortunately preserved) is written with a brevity which marks the King and the man of genius. "Know that a son is born to us. We thank the gods, not so much for their gift, as for bestowing it at a time when Aristotle lives. We assure ourselves that you will form him a prince worthy of his father, and worthy of Macedon." Aristotle commenced this illustrious employment about thirteen years afterwards*, when the opening mind of Alexander might be supposed capable of receiving the benefit of his instructions. The success of his labours will be explained in the sequel. The fortune of Alexander surpassed that of all other conquerors as much as his virtues surpassed his fortune.

* The chronology appears from Dionysius of Halicarnassus' letter to Ammaeus, who, in order to prove that Demosthenes had attained the highest perfection in the practice, before Aristotle had delivered the theory, of eloquence, marks, with great exactness, the principal events in the lives of the philosopher and orator. Aristotle, a native of Stagira, came to Athens in his eighteenth year, 367 A. C. There he continued twenty years, as the scholar or assistant of Plato, who died 348 A. C. Aristotle left Athens on the death of his master, and spent three years at Atarneus and two at Mytilenê. From thence he went to Macedon, in the forty-third year of his age, and 343 years A. C. He was employed eight years in the education of Alexander. He returned to Athens 335 A. C. taught twelve years in the Lycæum, and died the year following at Chalcis, ætat. sixty-three, A. C. 323, and a year after the death of Alexander. Dionysius ad Ammaeum. He reckons by the Archons of Athens: I have substituted the years before Christ.

Yet the fame of the philosopher abundantly re-
 pays the honour reflected on him by his royal
 pupils, since sixteen centuries after the subver-
 sion of Alexander's empire, the writings of Ari-
 stotle still maintained an unexampled ascendancy
 over the opinions and even over the actions of
 men. //

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Of the life of Aristotle, we have no certain
 account, but from the fragments of his works
 and from the testimonies of ancient writers, we
 may collect that he was born at Stagira, a town
 of Macedonia, in the year of the Olympiad 114,
 or 384 B. C. His father, Nicomachus, was
 physician to the king, and he himself followed
 his father's profession, and became a celebrated
 physician. He was educated at the Academy
 of Plato, and afterwards travelled into Sicily,
 where he was introduced to the court of Dion
 the Tyrant, and became his physician. He re-
 turned to Macedonia in the year of the Olympiad
 123, or 369 B. C. and was employed by the
 king as physician. He died in the year of the
 Olympiad 132, or 322 B. C. at the age of
 62 years. His works are divided into three
 classes, the *Metaphysics*, the *Natural Philo-
 sophy*, and the *Moral Philosophy*. The
Metaphysics treat of the first principles of
 philosophy, and the *Natural Philosophy* of
 the principles of nature. The *Moral Philo-
 sophy* is divided into two parts, the *Ethics*
 and the *Politics*. The *Ethics* treat of the
 principles of morality, and the *Politics* of
 the principles of government. His works are
 written in a clear and concise style, and are
 of great value to the student of philosophy.

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Philip's Prosperity.—Imprudent Measures of the Amphictyonic Council.—The Phocian, or Sacred War.—Philomachus seizes the Temple of Delphi.—Takes the Field against the Thebans and their Allies.—Defeat and Death of Philomachus.—Affairs of Thrace, Macedon, and Attica.—Onomarchus takes the Command of the Phocians.—Encounters Philip in Thessaly.—He is defeated and slain.—Philip's Designs against Olynthus and Byzantium.—Traversed by the Athenians.—Phaylus takes the Command of the Phocians.—Philip marches towards Thermopyla.—Anticipated by the Athenians.—Demosthenes' first Philippic.—Philip's Occupations at Pella.—His Vices and Policy.

CHAP. XXXIV. Philip had now reigned almost five years. He had greatly enlarged the boundaries, he had still more augmented the revenues, of his kingdom. Pæonia, no longer the rival, was become an obsequious province of Macedon. At the expense of Thrace and Illyria, he had extended his frontier on the east to the sea of Thasos; on the west to the lake Lychnidus. He was master of Thessaly without having the trouble to govern it. He secured many commercial advantages by the possession of Amphipolis. His troops were nu-

Prosperity of Philip in the fifth year of his reign Olymp. cvii. 1. A. C. 356.

merous and well disciplined; his large finances were regulated with economy; and the mines of Philippi furnished him with an annual resource alike useful to his designs, whether he pursued the ambitious career of foreign conquest, or set himself to build up and consolidate the internal grandeur of his dominions.

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The power of Philip was admired and feared by those who were unable to penetrate the deep recesses of his policy, which alone rendered him really formidable. The first and most natural object of his desire was the territory of Olynthus, the most populous and fertile portion of the Macedonian coast. His second and far more arduous purpose was to obtain the sovereignty of Greece. But instead of discovering these designs, he had hitherto cultivated the Olynthians with a careful assiduity; and had deserved their gratitude by many solid and important services. His success had been complete; and if, elated by the many advantages which we have enumerated, he had already prepared to invade Greece, it is more than probable that the Olynthians would have consented to follow his standards. But Philip was sensible, that by snatching too eagerly at this valuable prize he might blast for ever his prospect of obtaining it. While the Athenians were occupied and harassed by the destructive war with their confederates, he had indeed embraced the opportunity to gain possession of several of their dependent settlements in Thracæ and Macedon; colouring, however, these proceedings by the pretence of justice or necessity, and terr-

His profound and impene-
trable policy.

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He carefully
watches
the impru-
den: mea-
sures of
the Am-
phictyonic
council;

poring even his hostilities by many partial acts of kindness and respect. Before the social war was ended, the seeds of dissension, so profusely scattered in Greece, were likely to ripen into a new quarrel far more general and important. Philip patiently waited their maturity. His hopes were founded on the domestic animosities of Greece; but the unforeseeable discovery of his system might have united an hundred thousand* warriors against their common enemy; whereas, by the secret refinements of a slow and steady policy, he effected his vast purposes without being obliged, on any one occasion, to fight against thirty thousand men.

The Amphictyons having recovered their authority, in consequence of the events which have formerly been described, began early to display those dangerous passions with which the exercise of uncontrolled power too naturally corrupts the heart. They pretended, that, during the decline of their jurisdiction, many unwarrantable abuses had been introduced, which it became their duty to remedy. The rights of religion (they said), which it was their first duty to maintain, had been materially violated by the Phocians, who, alike regardless of the decision of the oracle, and of an Amphictyonic decree, had ploughed lands consecrated to Apollo, and therefore

* The number is chosen as a very moderate medium, between the two hundred and twenty thousand men, afterwards promised to Philip in the general convention of the states and council for the service of the Persian expedition, and the eighty thousand which the Greeks actually raised against Xerxes, and which Thucydides says, that the Peloponnesian confederacy alone could send into Attica.

withdrawn from agriculture*. These lands, how-
ever, were confined to the narrow district between
the river Cephissus and Mount Titurium, on the
western frontier of Boeotia. The crime of the Phoc-
ians (if their useful labours deserve the name of
crime) was neither great nor unprecedented, since
the Locrians of Amphissa had long cultivated the
Crisean plain; a more extensive territory, and
consecrated to the god by far more awful ceremo-
nies. But the proud tyranny of the Amphictyons,
careless of such distinctions, fulminated an angry
decree against Phocis, commanding the sacred
lands to be laid waste, and imposing a heavy fine
on that community.

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It is believed that the Thebans, enemies and
neighbours to Phocis, and whose influence at that
time predominated in the council, were the prin-
cipal abettors of this arbitrary measure†; a suppo-
sition rendered probable by the ensuing delibera-
tions of the Amphictyons. Their next sentence
was directed against Sparta, to punish the injury
of Phabidas, who, in time of peace, had surprised
and seized the Theban citadel. This breach of
public faith, however criminal and flagrant, had
been committed so many years before, that pru-
dence required it to be for ever buried in obscu-
rity. But, at the instigation of the Thebans, the
Amphictyons brought it once more to light; com-
manded the Lacedæmonians to pay a fine of five
hundred talents; decreed that the fine should be

which are
principally
abetted by
the The-
bans;

* See vol. i. c. v. p. 224. † See vol. i. c. v. p. 22, & seqq.

‡ Justin. l. viii. c. i. & seqq.

CHAP. doubled, unless paid within an appointed time, and
 XXXIV. if the decree were finally disregarded, that the Lacedæmonians should be treated as public enemies to Greece*.

who ex-
 cite the re-
 sentment
 of the Pho-
 cians
 Olymp.
 cv. 4.
 A. C. 357.

The Phocians, singled out as the first victims of oppression, were deeply affected by their danger. To pay the money demanded of them, exceeded their faculties. It would be grievous to despoil the fields which their own hands had cultivated with so much toil. The commands of the Amphictyons were indeed peremptory; but that council had not on foot any sufficient force to render them effectual, should the devoted objects of their vengeance venture to dispute their authority. This measure, daring as it seemed, was strongly recommended by Philomelus, whose popular eloquence and rash valour gave him a powerful ascendancy in Phocia. He possessed great hereditary wealth, and contemned the national superstition; and being endowed with a bold ambitious spirit, he expected to rise amidst the tumult of action and danger, to unsurpassed pre-eminence in his republic. After repeated deliberations, in which he flattered the vanity, and tempted the avarice of his countrymen, by promising that to them of right belonged the guardianship of the Delphian temple, and the immense treasures contained within its sacred walls, he brought the

* Diodor. l. xvi. c. xxiii. & seqq.

† Philomelus cited the respectable authority of Homer: *ἄλλοι δὲ βασιλεῖς*

ἄλλοι δὲ βασιλεῖς Σχέσιος καὶ Ἐπιφρόνους ἀρχόντων,

"Οἱ Χιτράριοι ἀρχὸν Πύθωνα καὶ ποταμῶν."

"But Schæsius and Epistrophus led the Phocians, who inhabited Cyparissus, and the rocky Python," the ancient name of Delphi.

majority of the senate and assembly into his opinion. As the properest instrument to execute his own measures, Philomelus was named general: the Phocian youth flocked to his standard; and his private fortune, as well as the public revenues were consumed in purchasing the mercenary aid of those needy adventurers who abounded in every province of Greece.

The following year was employed by Philomelus in providing arms, in exercising his troops, and in an embassy which he undertook in person to Sparta. As that community had not discharged the fine imposed by the Amphictyons, the penalty was doubled, the delinquents being condemned to pay a thousand talents. The exorbitance of this imposition might have justified the Spartans in following the example of Phocis, and setting the Amphictyons at defiance. But Archidamus, who possessed all the caution and address of his father Agesilaus, was unwilling to take a principal part in the first dangerous experiment, and to post himself in the front of battle, against the revered decrees of an assembly, considered as the legal guardian of national religion and liberty. He assured Philomelus that both himself and the Spartans fully approved his course; that reasons of a temporary nature hindered their declaring themselves openly, but that he might depend on secret supplies of men and money*.

The Phocians under Philomelus prepare for war, and engage the Spartans in their cause. Olymp. ov. 1. A. C. 356.

* Ο δὲ Αρχιδάμους ἀποδέχωνος τοῦ λόγου, παύσας μὲν, κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ ὅταν ἐκείνην, λαβὼν δὲ πάντα συμπράξας, χρεώσας αὐτὸν χρημάτων καὶ πλοῦτος. Diodor. l. xvi. p. 426.

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Philomelus seizes the temple of Delphi, Olymp. cvi. 2. A. C. 355.

Encouraged by this assurance, and by a considerable sum immediately put into his hands, Philomelus, at his return, ventured on a measure not less audacious than unexpected. The temple of Delphi, so awfully guarded by superstition, was scarcely defended by any military force. Philomelus, having prepared the imagination of his followers for this bold enterprise, immediately conducted them towards Delphi, defeated the feeble resistance of the Thracians, who inhabited the neighbouring district, and entered the sacred city with the calm intrepidity of a conqueror. The Delphians, who expected no mercy from a man devoid of respect for religion, prepared themselves in silent horror, for beholding the complicated guilt of sacrilege and murder. But the countenance of Philomelus reassured them, and his discourse totally dispelled their ill-grounded fears. Phocis heard that he had come to Delphi, with no hostile disposition against the inhabitants, with no sacrilegious designs against the temple. His principal motive was to emancipate the one and the other from the arbitrary proceedings of the Amphictyons, and to assert the ancient and unalienable prerogative of Phocis to be the patron and protector of the Delphian shrine. To the same purpose he deputed declarations through the different republics of Greece; his emissaries acquainted the Spartans that he had destroyed the brazen tablets containing the unjust decrees against Sparta and Phocis: they inflamed the resentment of the Athenians, naturally

* Diodorus (l. xvi. p. 426.) says fifteen talents.

hostile to Thebes; and both those republics came to the resolution of supporting the measures of Philomelus.

The Thebans, on the other hand, who directed and the Locrians, Thessalians, with other states of less consideration, who tamely obeyed the decrees of the Amphictyons, determined to take the field in defence of their insulted religion and violated laws.

Employs the sacred treasure in raising mercenaries.

Their operations were conducted with that extreme slowness natural to confederacies. Philomelus acted with more vigour. He received little assistance from his distant allies. But, first, by imposing a heavy tax on the Delphians, who had been enriched by the devotion of Greece, and then, notwithstanding his declaration, by taking very undue liberties with the treasure of Apollo*, he collected above ten thousand mercenaries, men daring and profligate as himself, who sacrificed all scruples of religion to the hopes of dividing a rich spoil. Such at least was the general character of his followers. To the few who had more piety, or less avarice, he endeavoured to justify his measures by the authority of an oracle. The Pythia at first refused to mount the sacred tripod. Philomelus sternly commanded her. She obeyed with reluctance, observing, that being already master of Delphi, he might act without sanction or controul. Philomelus waited for no other answer, but gladly interpreted the words as an acknowledgment of his

ni. [†] Diodorus sometimes acknowledges, and sometimes denies, that Philomelus was the author of the sacrilege.

† *Ἀποδοῦναι αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐκείνου ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτοῦ ἀργασίαν* i. *Caesari*. *Diodor.* p. 428.

CHAP. absolute authority; and, with the address suitable
 XXXV. to his situation and character, confirmed the suspi-
 cious declaration of the priestess by the support of
 many favourable men.

Takes the field against the Thebans and their allies. Olymp. cvi. 2. A. C. 355.
 Having obtained the supposed sanction of re-
 ligious authority, Philomachus proceeded to fortify the temple
 and city of Delphi, in which he placed a strong
 garrison; and, with the remainder of his forces,
 boldly marched forth to repel the incursions of the
 enemy. During two years, hostilities were carried
 on with various fortune against the Locrians and
 Thebians. Victory for the most part inclined to
 the Phocians; but there happened not any decisive
 action, and was the war memorable on any other
 account but that of the excessive cruelty mutually
 inflicted and suffered. The Phocian prisoners were
 uniformly condemned to death as wretches con-
 victed of the most abominable crimes and im-
 piety; and the resentment of their country men re-
 taliated with equal severity on the unhappy cap-
 tives whom the chance of war frequently put into
 their hands.

Philomachus defeated. Olymp. cvii. 4. A. C. 353.
 As both armies anxiously expected reinforce-
 ments, they were unwilling to risk a general en-
 gagement, till chance rendered that measure un-
 avoidable. Entangled among the woods and
 mountains of Phocis, the conveniency of forage
 attracted them towards the same point. The van-
 guards met unexpectedly near the town of Neoné,
 and began to skirmish. A general and fierce ac-
 tion followed, in which the Phocians were repelled

* Diodor. p. 429.

† Ibid. p. 530, & seqq.

by superior numbers, Pathless woods, abrupt rocks and precipices, obstructed their retreat. In vain Philomelus strove with his voice and arm to rally the fugitives. He himself was carried along by the torrent to the brow of a precipice, afflicted with wounds, and still more with anguish and despair. The enemy advanced, it seemed impossible to escape their vengeance; the resolution of Philomelus was prompt and terrible; with a vigorous bound he sprang from the path, thus eluding the torment of his own guilty conscience, and the resentment of his pursuers. While the Thebans and allies admired this catastrophe as a manifest visitation of divine vengeance, Oenarchus, the lieutenant and brother of the Phocian general, collected and drew off the scattered remains of the vanquished army towards Delphi. The confederates determined to expel them from this holy place, and to inflict on the enemies of Greece and Heaven a punishment similar to that to which the wrath of Apollo had driven the impious Philomelus.

Different causes concurred to prevent Philip on the one hand, and Athens and Sparta on the other from taking a principal or early part in the Phocian war. The interested policy of Artidamus, the Spartan ambassador, who had been sent to the Phocians, to dissuade them from attacking the Delphians, was the principal cause. The Spartans, who had been the allies of the Phocians, were not disposed to take a principal part in the war, as they were not yet recovered from the effects of the Peloponnesian war.

The Phocians, who had been the allies of the Spartans, were not disposed to take a principal part in the war, as they were not yet recovered from the effects of the Peloponnesian war. The Phocians, who had been the allies of the Spartans, were not disposed to take a principal part in the war, as they were not yet recovered from the effects of the Peloponnesian war.

Such it appeared to future historians, as they were not yet recovered from the effects of the Peloponnesian war. The Phocians, who had been the allies of the Spartans, were not disposed to take a principal part in the war, as they were not yet recovered from the effects of the Peloponnesian war.

* Diodor. l. xvi. p. 432.

* Diodor. l. xvi. p. 432.

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the Peloponnesus.
Olymp.
cvi. 3.
A. C. 353.

who directed with absolute authority the councils of Sparta, was less anxious to support the arms of his distant confederates, than solicitous to recover the Lacedæmonian dominion in Peloponnesus. The opportunity seemed favourable for this purpose, the Thebans being deeply engaged in one of their domestic, and the Athenians in strict alliance with Sparta. For several years, the arms and intrigues of Archidamus were employed against the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argives. But his ambitious design failed of success: the inferior cities of Peloponnesus, roused by a common danger, confederated for their mutual defence; and Athens, though actually the ally of Sparta, was unwilling to abandon to the tyranny of that republic her ancient and faithful allies, the Arcadians and Messenians.

The affairs of Thrace occupy Philip and the Athenians.

While the politics of the Peloponnesus formed a system apart, the sacred war shook the centre of Greece, and the affairs of Thrace occupied Philip and the Athenians. Gorys was dead; his sons, Kersobleptes, Berisades, and Amadocus, were all dissatisfied with the partition of his dominions. While their hostilities against each other exhibited the odious picture of fraternal discord, the prizes for which they contended were successively carried off by Philip. The encroachments of that prince

The question appears to have occasioned warm debates in the Athenian assembly: the Spartan and Arcadian parties were animated with the utmost zeal; and, according to Demosthenes, the Athenian orators, had they not spoke the words of discretion, would have appeared, the one half Spartans, the other Arcadians. Demosthenes, *pro Megalop.* p. 83.

at length engaged Kersoblepias, the most powerful of the barbarians, to aid the Thracian Chersonesus to the Athenians, who sent Idarnas with a numerous fleet to take possession of that peninsula. The town of Sestos alone made resistance. It was taken by storm, and treated with great severity by Chares; while Philip besieged and took the far more important city of Methone in Pieria. In this siege he lost an eye, a loss which he is said to have borne with the more impatience, as the circumstances attending it were alike dishonourable to his judgment and humanity.

It appears extraordinary that the Epeirans, after the defeat and death of Philomachus, should not have pursued their good fortune, without allowing the enemy time to breathe and recover strength. They probably imagined that the fatal exit of that daring chief would deter a successor; and that the

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Onomarchus takes the command of the Phocians. Olymp. cvi. 4. A. C. 353.

Lucian de Scribend. Hist. p. 365.

These circumstances, however, rest on the authority of Strabo and Pliny. It is said, that when the arrow was extracted, the following inscription appeared on it: "Arrow to Philip's right eye." Arter; it seems, had offered his services to Philip, as an excellent surgeon, to which Philip replied, that he would employ him when he waged war with starlings. Philip caused the arrow to be shot back into the place, with a new inscription, "That he would hang up Arter's head, when he was executed as soon as he became master of Methone." Fictions still more incredible were related on this subject, by the fabulous writers of the age of Alexander. Philip, it was said, lost his right eye through unseasonable curiosity in prying into the amours of Olympias and Jupiter Ammon. This ridiculous story to Alexander had been so widely diffused, that it was supposed to be the subject represented on the celebrated vase, which is so abundantly explained by Mr. D'Anconville. See Recherches sur les Arts Grecs, vol. II.

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Phocians would crave peace, if not driven to despair. Such indeed was the resolution of the more respectable part of the Phocians. But the bold, impious, and needy, who composed the most numerous description of that people, were bent on continuing the war. An assembly was convened, when Onomarchus, in a set speech*, flattered their hopes, and encouraged them to persevere. His opinion prevailed; he was named general; and his conduct soon proved, that he equalled his brother in boldness and ambition, and surpassed him in activity and enterprise. None better knew the power of gold, or had more address in employing it. With the Delphic treasure he coined such a quantity of money as perhaps had never before circulated in Greece. The Phocian army was restored and augmented; their allies were rendered more hearty in their cause; even their enemies were not proof against the temptations which continually assailed their fidelity. By seasonable bribes, Onomarchus distracted the councils of Thebes, and kept their arms inactive. The neighbouring states were persuaded to observe a neutrality while the Thessalians, a people at all times noted for avarice and fraud†, and of whose country

* Περὶ ὀνόματι λόγους δίδωμι. Diodor. p. 432.

† The Thessalians had the same character in Greece, as the Ligurians in Italy:

Vane Ligus—

Nequequam patrias tentasti lubricus artes. Vane.

Euripides speaks of the slippery deceits of the Thessalians. Demosthenes (Olyn'h. i. p. 4. ex edit. Wolf.) says, ὅτι τὰ τῶν Θητῶν πάντα γὰρ ἀπὸ μὴν ἢ δὲ πρὸς τοῦ, καὶ ἀπὸ πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις. "Philip was farther distressed by the insurrections of the Thessalians, a people faithless by nature, at all times, to all men."

the proverb said, that it had never produced a bad horse or an honest man, openly embraced the cause of Phocis.

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These multiplied advantages were not allowed to languish in the hands of Onomarchus, who hoped to drown the unjust motives of his enterprise in the sudden tide of victory. At the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, he poured down on Locris and Doris, ravaged the country, took Thronium by storm, laid several cities under contribution, penetrated into Bœotia, and made himself master of Orchomenus. The Thebans assembled their forces to stem the torrent. Onomarchus first met with a repulse before the walls of Chæronæa, and ventured not to renew the engagement, having weakened his forces by placing garrisons in the important places which he had taken, as well as by sending a detachment of seven thousand men, under his brother Phayllus, into Thessaly*.

Success of his arms.

In that country, the intrigues of Philip had counteracted the gold of Onomarchus. But Lycophron, who was the chief partisan of the latter, and whom Philip had formerly divested of his usurped power, had again established himself in Phææ, Pegasæ, Magnesia, and several places of less note, declared for the tyrant, and for Phocis. The Macedonian interest prevailed elsewhere; and the factions were equally balanced, when Philip, with his usual celerity, entered Thessaly, defeated Phayllus,

He encounters Philip in Thessaly, and obliges him to retire.

* Diodor. p. 434.

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besieged and took Pegaste, and drove the democracy with disgrace towards the frontier of Phocia. The fear of losing his newly-acquired interest among the Thesalians, made Onomarchus evacuate Boeotia, and advance against Philip with his whole army. The Macedonians, though less numerous, did not decline the engagement. At the first charge the Phocians gave way, and retreated towards the neighbouring mountains. Philip ordered his men to pursue in their ranks. It was then that the Phocians really began the battle: Onomarchus foreseeing that the Macedonians would follow in close order, had posted a detachment on the summit of the precipice, who were ready, on a given signal, to roll down fragments of rock, and stones of an enormous size, on the embattled phalanx. This was the only mode of attack for which the Macedonians were not prepared. The line of march, in which the moment before they pressed forward with such firmness and confidence, was converted into a dreadful scene of carnage and ruin. Before they recovered from their consternation, the flying Phocians, who had decoyed them into this ambush, returned to the charge on Philip; however, rallied his men: and while Onomarchus hesitated to advance, drove them off in good order, saying that they did not retreat through fear, but retired like Valmy, in order to battle with more impetuous vigour. This saying was doubly justified, although the Phocians and Lycophron first enjoyed a short

Onomarchus defeated and slain.

* Polyzen. Strateg. l. ii. c. xxviii. Diodor. l. xvi. 34. & seqq.

triumph. The tyrant established himself, as he thought, securely, in his native city; the Phocians, reinforced by their Thessalian allies, again invaded Boeotia, assaulted and took Coronea, and dreadfully alarmed the Thebans, by the devastations committed in the very centre of their territory. But the time of vengeance arrived. Philip, having recruited his army, returned into Thessaly. The Thessalian partisans of Lycephron, had they determined to share his danger, would have proved unable to support his cause. A considerable portion of the Thessalians received the King of Macedon as their deliverer. Onomarchus was thus obliged to withdraw his forces from Boeotia. At the head of twenty thousand foot and five hundred horse, he marched to the defence of Lycephron, and was met by the enemy, still more numerous, on the revolution of Magnesia. To remind his soldiers that they fought in the cause of Delphi and of Heaven, Philip bowed their heads with the laurel consecrated to Apollo, and adorned his ensigns and standards with the emblems and attributes of that divinity. Their onset was impetuous and fierce, and their valour, animated by enthusiasm, rendered them irresistible, though the enemy, conscious of guilt, fought with the fury of despair. Three thousand Thessalian cavalry, who had signalingly contributed to the victory of Philip, render the pursuit bloody and destructive, while the Phocians, having thrown away their armour, fled to

Justin. l. viii. 2.

CHAP. wards the sea, allured by the sight of the Athenian
 XXXIV. fleet under Chares, which was returning from the
 Chersonesus. That commander seems not to have
 made any attempt to protect them. Above six
 thousand perished in the battle; or in the pursuit.
 The body of Ohomarchus was found among the
 slain; Philip ordered it to be hung on a gibbet,
 as a mark of peculiar infamy; the rest were
 thrown into the sea, as unworthy, by their impi-
 ous sacrilege, of the rites of funeral. Three
 thousand were taken alive; but it is not absolute-
 ly certain whether they were drowned, or reduced
 into captivity; though the latter opinion is the
 more probable.

Philip's
 designs
 against
 Olynthus
 and By-
 zantium.

It might be expected that such a decisive blow
 should have proved fatal to the Phocians. But
 Philip, who had conquered them in Thessaly, durst
 not pursue his advantages by invading Phocis;

The leaving such a circumstance at all doubtful, is very inconsis-
 tent with the accuracy of Diodorus. His words are *τελος δὲ, τὰς ὀκτακίους καὶ*
μυριάδας ἀνέβησαν μὴ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑξακισχίλου, ἐν οἷς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ στρατηγός,
ἀνέβη θάνατον παρὰ τὴν ἡμέραν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἐν μὴ ὀκτακίους ἀπέβη
τῆς δὲ ἄλλης εἰς ἱερουσίας κατακτείνους. Literally, "At length above six
 thousand of the Phocians and mercenaries were, on the one hand, taken
 up dead, among whom was the general. Not less than three thousand
 were, on the other hand, taken prisoner. Philip hung up Ohomarchus,
 and threw the rest into the sea, as guilty of sacrilege." The learned
 reader will perceive, that I have given the full force of the word
ἀνέβησαν; and from the precise and distinctive force of this participle
ἀνέβησαν, which separates the two first clauses of the text, I am of opi-
 nion that the *τῆς ἄλλης* can apply only to the rest of those who were
 taken up dead. There is nothing determinate to be learned from the
 word *κατακτείνους*, which signifies barely to plunge into the sea.

well knowing that an attempt to pass the straits of Thermopylae would alarm not only his enemies but his allies. It was his interest to perpetuate dissensions in Greece. For that reason he fomented the discord that reigned among the states of Peloponnesus; and though he had punished the obnoxious Phocians, he was unwilling to terminate a war which diverted the public attention from watching too studiously his own ambitious designs. His victory over an odious enemy extended his just renown. He secured the dominion of Thessaly, by planting garrisons in Pheræ, Pegasæ, and Magnesia. His army was ready to march towards Greece on the first favourable opportunity; but till this should arrive, he rejoiced to see both divisions of that country involved in hostilities, which allowed him to accomplish, unmolested, his lesser preparatory purposes. He had long deceived the Olynthians by good offices and promises, but now began to throw off the mask, and to show that he meant to be their master. He actually applied to Kersobleptes, whom he detached from the interest of Athens; and having raised him on the ruins of the neighbouring chieftains of Thrace, thereby obtained his confidence, and waited an occasion to destroy him with security*. The dominions of that prince opened the way to Byzantium, the possession of which must have early tempted the ambition of Philip; who knew so well to estimate the importance of its situation both in commerce and in war. He began

* Justin, L. viii. 3. Demost. Olynth. 2 and 3,

CHAP. to discover his designs against Byzantium by attack-
 ing the fortress of Hermaum, a place so called from
 the neighbouring temple of Juno, which formed its
 principal ornament. The town of Hermaum was
 small, and in itself unimportant; its harbour was
 dangerous and deceitful; but being situate contiguous
 to Byzantium, it served as an outwork and de-
 fence to that rich and populous city*.

The Athenians had sufficient penetration to dis-
 cern the drift of those enterprises. They formed
 an alliance with the republic of Olynthus; they
 warned Kersobleptes of his danger; they voted a
 numerous fleet to sail to the defence of Hermaum,
 or, rather, of Byzantium, with which, though ren-
 dered independent of Athens by the social war,
 they still carried on a lucrative commerce. But
 these spirited exertions were not of long continu-
 ance. Philip's wound at Methoné, together with
 the continual labour and fatigue to which he had
 afterwards submitted, threw him into a dangerous
 malady. The report of his sickness was, before it
 reached Athens, magnified into his death. The
 Athenians rejoiced in so seasonable a deliverance,
 and laying aside their naval preparations, bent their
 principal attention to the sacred war.

The Pho-
 cian or
 sacred
 war con-
 tinued by
 Phaylus.

That unhappy contest was renewed by Phayllus,
 the last surviving brother of Philomelus and Ono-
 marchus. As his cause became more desperate,
 Phayllus availed himself to the utmost of the only

* Justin. l. viii. 3. Demosth. Olynth. 2. and 3.

† Idem, ubi supra.

resource which was left him. Having converted ^{or h. a. p.} into ready money the most precious dedications ^{XXXIV.} of Delphi, he doubled the pay of his mercenaries: ^{Olymp.} ^{viii. 1.} ^{A. C. 352.} This extraordinary encouragement brought new adventurers to his standard, and soon rendered his army equal to that of either of his predecessors. The fugitive Thebans, assembled in a body by Lycophron, entered into his pay. By means of the Delphic treasure, he acquired, likewise, the public assistance of a thousand Lacedæmonians, two thousand Achæans, five thousand Athenian foot, with four hundred cavalry. These powerful reinforcements enabled the Phocians to take the field with a good prospect of success, and rendered those who had so lately been the objects of pity, again formidable to their enemies.

Philip, meanwhile, had recovered from his ^{Philip in} disposition. ^{order to} The votes and preparations of the ^{oppose} Athenians had taught him that his designs could ^{him,} no longer be concealed. He was acquainted with ^{marches} the alliance formed between that republic and Olyn- ^{towards} ^{Thermo-} ^{pylæ.} thus. His emissaries gave him intelligence of the actual commotions in Greece; where the countenance and assistance of so many powerful states abetted the sacrifice of the Phocians. The occasion required that he should appear in favour of his allies, and in defence of the pious cause which he had formerly maintained with so much glory. His trophies gained over Onomarchus were still fresh and blooming; and not only the Thebans,

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Dorians, and Locrians, who were principals in the war, but the sincere votaries of Apollo in every quarter of Greece, secretly expected him as their deliverer; while his enemies admired his piety and trembled at his valour; and as they had been lately amused with the news of his sickness and death, they would now view with religious terror his unexpected appearance at Thermopylae, to assert the violated rights of the Delphian temple. Such were the hopes and motives on which Philip, at the head of a numerous army, directed his march\* towards those celebrated straits.

This measure alarms the Athenians.

But the event shewed, that on this occasion he had made a false estimate of the superstition or timidity of the Greeks, and particularly had built too much on the patience and indolence of the Athenians. That people penetrated his designs, and determined to oppose them. Under the veil of religious zeal, they doubted not that he concealed the desire to invade and conquer their country; and, on the first intelligence of his expedition, their foresight and patriotism represented the Macedonians, Thessalians, and Thebans, pouring down like a destructive inundation, on Attica and Peloponnesus. With an alacrity and ardour of which there was no recent example in their councils, they flew to arms, launched their fleet, sailed to Thermopylae, and took possession of the strait.

who sail to Thermopylae, and guard the straits.

Diodor. l. xvi. p. 437.

Demetrius de Philo. l. i. c. 22. p. 131.

Plutarch de Philo. l. i. c. 22. p. 131.

Never did Philip meet with a more cruel disappointment; than in being thus anticipated by a people whom he had so often deceived: He retired with deep regret; leaving the Phocian war to be carried on by the Thebans and their allies. Meanwhile, the Athenians placed a guard at Thermopylæ; and elated by the first instance of their success against the Macedonian, called an assembly to deliberate on measures proper to restrain his ambition.

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Philip retires in disappointment.

This assembly is rendered memorable by the first appearance of Demosthenes against Philip, whose measures from this moment he ceased not to watch and to counteract. Two years before, this illustrious orator, whose works have been more praised than read, and more read than understood, began, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, to appear on the theatre of public life. The Athenians were then involved in the sacred war; their northern possessions were continually insulted; plundered, or conquered by Philip; yet in this situation of affairs the mercenary partisans of that prince, in order to divert the public attention from his too aspiring designs, affected to extend their views to Asia, and to be alarmed by the motions of Artaxerxes Ochus, who was preparing to reduce the rebels of Cyprus, Egypt, and Phœnicia. In every assembly of the people, the creatures of Philip dwelt, with exaggerated terror, on the naval and military preparations of the Great King, which they represented as certainly destined to revenge the recent injuries committed by the Athenian troops, under Chares, on the coast of Asia. The trophies

Demosthenes' first appearance against Philip.



C. H. A. P. of Miltiades, Themistocles, and Cimon, were adorned  
 XXXIV. with all the pomp of eloquence ; and the Athenians were exhorted to imitate those memorable exploits of their ancestors in the Persian war, which shed a lustre on all the succeeding periods of their history.

Senti-  
 ments of  
 the wisest  
 Athenians  
 respecting  
 this prince.

In this popular enthusiasm joined Isocrates the orator, together with the statesman and general Phocion, two men whose talents and virtues would have done honour to the most illustrious age of the republic. The unblemished integrity of Isocrates, the disinterested poverty of Phocion, afford sufficient proof that neither of these great men were corrupted by Macedonian gold. But they both perceived that the indolence and unsteadiness of Athens were incapable of contending with the unceasing activity of Philip, and both exhorted their countrymen to gain and cultivate the friendship of a prince, against whom they could not make war with any reasonable prospect of success.

Those of  
 Isocrates  
 in particu-  
 lar.

Isocrates, from the most accurate and extensive survey of the political history of Greece, discovered that a foreign war alone could heal the domestic dissensions which reigned in every quarter of that divided country ; and, from a thorough knowledge of the inherent defects in the government of Thebes, Athens, and Sparta, he regarded Macedon as the state, and Philip as the general, best entitled, and best qualified, to assume the command of a military expedition into Asia, to revenge ancient wrongs, and to deliver the Grecian colonies from the actual oppression of Barbarians.

On this important subject he addressed a discourse C H A P.  
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to Philip; he repeatedly insisted on the same topic in writings addressed the Athenians; and it is obscurely related, that on one occasion he reconciled those hostile powers\*, and engaged them to concur in this extensive yet rational scheme of conquest.

The sentiments and views of Demosthenes were equally different from those of Isocrates and Phocion on the one hand, and from those of the infamous hirelings of Philip on the other. None knew better than he did the corruption and degeneracy of his countrymen; but he hoped to rouse them from their lethargy; a design, arduous as it may seem, sometimes effected by his eloquence, the most powerful, glowing, and sublime, ever employed by man; and which, of all men, he had been at most pains to acquire and cultivate. His imagination was filled with the ancient glory of the republic; in the ardour of patriotism he forgot the moderation of philosophy; and while he sternly maintained the prerogatives and pretensions of his country, he would rather have seen Athens defeated at the head of her allies, than victorious under the standard of the Macedonians, or any standard but her own. With such sentiments and character, he was naturally a favourite of the people, and a warm partisan of popular government; while Phocion, like most men of sense and worth in that age, preferred a moderate aristocracy.

The peculiar views of Demosthenes

\* See the life of Isocrates, prefixed to my translation of his works.

† Diod. Sic. & Plut. de Demost.

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appear in  
public ora-  
tions.

cracy; and Isocrates was inclined to regard a well-regulated monarchy as the best of all governments.

In his first speeches before the assembly Demosthenes announced himself as the minister of the people at large, whom he exhorted to awake from their indolence, and at length to assume the direction of their own affairs. They had been too long governed by the incapacity of a few ambitious men, to the great detriment and disgrace of the community. First an orator at the head of all, under him a general, abetted by three or four hundred obsequious partisans, availed themselves of the sloth and negligence of a people careless of every thing but pleasure, to domineer in the public councils, and to become masters of the state. From considerations of their present corruption and weakness, (as well as of the designs and connexions of neighbouring powers, he advised them, to forsake all distant and romantic schemes of ambition; and, instead of carrying their arms into remote countries, to prepare for repelling the attacks that might be made against their own dominions. He insisted earnestly on a better regulation of their finances, on the retrenching of many superfluous branches of expense, and especially on a more equitable repartition of public burdens, in proportion to the fortunes of individuals. which, though the income of the state had dwindled to four hundred talents, were actually more considerable than at any former period. While the rich cheerfully paid

\* See his Nicocles, Evagoras, &c.



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the cause of your past misfortunes, ought to furnish the source of your present hope. What is that? Your own negligence and sloth, not the power of your enemies, have disordered the state. Had your distress arisen, notwithstanding your utmost care to prevent it, there would then be little hope of relief; but since it is occasioned by your own misconduct, you need only repair your errors, in order to retrieve your affairs. Considering the weakness of Athens, thus despoiled of her dominions, and the strength of Philip, which has increased immoderately at our expense, should you think this a formidable enemy, you doubtless think aright. Yet reflect, Athenians! that there was a time when we possessed Pydna, Potidea, Methone, and all the surrounding territory; that the nations in that neighbourhood, now subject to Philip, were then independent, and preferred the alliance of Athens to that of Macedon. In the infancy of his fortune, had Philip reasoned, timidly as we do now, "How shall I, destitute of allies, attack the Athenians, whose garrisons command my frontier?" he would not have engaged in those enterprises which have been crowned with such signal success; nor raised his kingdom to such an unexampled pitch of grandeur. No, Athenians! he knew well, that towns and fortresses are but prizes of skill and valour.

\* ΑΛΛ' οἷόν, ὡς ἀνδρὲς Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸτο καλῶς εἰπὼς, ὅτι τὰντα μὲν ἐστὶ ἀπάρτα τα χάρις ἀθλὰ τε πολλὰ καὶ κίβητα ἢ μισθός. In ancient times the figure had more force as well as dignity; because at the Olympic and other sacred games, the spectators were used to behold the prizes proposed to the victors, κίβητα ἢ μισθός, exposed in the middle of the field, to excite their emulation and ardour. See vol. i. c. v.

proposed to the combatants, and belong of right to the conqueror; that the dominions of the absent are seized by those who take the field, and the possessions of the negligent and slothful become the rewards of vigilance and vigour. Guided by these maxims he has subdued and governs all; holding some communities by right of conquest, and others under the title of allies; for allies no prince nor state can want, who are not wanting to themselves. But should you, Athenians! imitate the example of Philip, and at length, rousing from your lethargy, apply seriously to your interest, you would speedily recover those advantages which your negligence only has lost. Favourable occasions will yet occur; for you must not imagine that Philip, like a god, holds his prosperity for ever fixed and immutable\*. No, Athenians! there are who hate him, who fear him, who envy him, even among those seemingly the most devoted to his cause. These are universal passions; from which the allies of Macedon are not, surely, exempted. They have hitherto concealed them, finding no resource in you; but it depends on your councils to call them into action. When, therefore, O my countrymen! when will you exert your vigour? when roused by some secret—when urged by some necessity—What can be more urgent than the present juncture? To freemen, the most necessary of all mo-

\* The original is inimitable; *οὐ γὰρ ὡς θεὸς ἀνμιμήτῳ ἀνὴρ τὰ πλεονεκτήματα περιμύσσει ἀβαντά.* Join the *τα* and the *περιμύσσει*, the article and the substantive, and the charm will be dissolved.



either to repel the inroads of the Macedonians, or to harass the extended; and, in many parts, defenceless territory of that people. Meanwhile, preparations would be made at home for carrying on the war in due time, with more numerous forces, and with greater efficacy. Such moderate proposals prove that Demosthenes well understood the genius of his countrymen. He required, that only the fourth part of the troops should consist of Athenian citizens; and the immediate supplies were to amount only to ninety talents. He knew that higher demands would alarm their indolence and love of pleasure; and so fatally were they sunk in the idle amusements of the city, that it is probable the small armament proposed did not actually set sail; it is certain that no future preparations were made adequate to the public service.

The profound policy of Philip fostered the supine negligence of his enemies. For more than two years after his retreat from Thermopylae, that crafty prince much confined himself to his dominions; and chiefly to his capital, anxious to dissipate the clamour occasioned by his too great precipitation to seize the gates of Greece. In that interval, he indeed made an expedition to chastise the rebellious spirit of the Thessalians. But the greatest part of his time was spent at Pella, and addicted to the arts of peace, which he judged with skill, and encouraged with munificence. That favourite city was adorned with temples, theatres, and porticos. The most ingenious artists of Greece were summoned by liberal rewards, to the court

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Philip affects to lay aside his ambition.

His occupation during a long residence at Pella.  
A. C 350. & 349.



CHAP. of Macedon\* ; and men of talents and genius, who were too often exposed to envy and persecution in the former country, were received with open arms by a prince, who, amidst the tumult of war, assiduously cultivated the studies of literature and eloquence. In his domestic government, Philip administered justice with impartiality, listened with condescension to the complaints of his meanest subjects, and disdaining the ceremonious and forbidding pomp of tyranny, maintained an intercourse of visits and entertainments with his courtiers and generals†.

His vices; In a prince so respectably employed, it is difficult to conceive the odious and detestable vices with which Philip is upbraided by Demosthenes‡; yet the brief descriptions, occasionally sketched by the orator, are filled up by an ancient historian, who represents the infamies of the life of Philip in language well fitted to arraign the horrors of Nero or Heliogabalus. Could we believe the acrimony of Theopompus of Chios, a scholar of Isocrates, who flourished in the age of Alexander, Philip sullied his great actions by the most enormous and detestable crimes. Alike avaricious and prodigal, the wealth which he had amassed by injustice and rapacity, he dissipated in the most flagitious grati-

\* Justin. l. viii. c. 3.

† Among other Greeks who lived at Philip's court were, Leosthenes the orator, Neoptolemus the poet, Aristodemus, and Satyrus celebrated players. See also Demosthen. passim.

‡ Plut. in Apopah. & in Demosthen. & Alexand.

§ Vid. Demosthen. ex edit. Wolf. pp. 5, 6, 42, 66, &c.

¶ Corn. Nep. in Alcibiad.

cations, and in company with the meanest and most worthless of mankind. His companions were chosen promiscuously from Macedonians and Greeks, and especially from Thessalians, the most profligate of the Greeks, and were admitted to his familiarity and friendship in proportion to their proficiency in the most odious and unnatural abominations\* that ever polluted the worst men in the most corrupt ages of the world. We must, doubtless, make allowances for the gall of a writer, noted to a proverb for severity. Yet there is sufficient collateral evidence, that Philip's strong propensity to low wit, obscenity, and drunkenness, rendered him a prey

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\* The epithets given them by Theopompus are, *ἄσπου, ἀσυνάβητοι*; and *ἀσώτοι*; the last word is composed of *αἰ*, *valde*, and *σώφει*, *savens*; and translated *inequitur merulatus*, which corresponds to the *enormis membrorum* of the Augustan historians. The following description of the friends of Philip is too indecent for modern language: "Horum enim quidam jam viri barbaram indetentem radebant, & yellebantur: alii vero barbati citra pudorem vicissim se impudicabant; stupris intercutibus se flagitantes; regi vero duo vel tres circumducebantur qui paterentur mullebraria, & eandem operam navarent alijs subagitantes. Quamobrem illos jure aliquis non amicos regis, sed amicos esse credidisset, nec milites sed prostibula non. Quibusdam, ingenio quidem & natura sanguinarios, moribus autem virilia porta." &c. This passage is quoted from the forty-ninth book of Theopompus. In his twenty-sixth book he speaks to the same purpose! "Philipum cum Thessalos imperantes esse, ac lascivie petulantique vitæ prospiceret, eorum conventus ac contubernia instaurare:isque uti, placeret modis omnibus fuisse conatum, cum illis sallasset, commissum fuisse, cûvis libidinis ac nequitie traditione." A mistaken passage of Diodorus has made some learned men doubt the authenticity of these descriptions. Diodorus (l. xvi. sect. 2.) says, that Theopompus *ἡγήσασθαι αὐτὸν βέλτερον ἢ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱστοριογράφους*, &c. &c. *ἡγήσασθαι*; "had written the history of Philip in fifty-eight books, five of which differ in style from the rest." Were we therefore to suppose the five last books spurious (for that is the inference which has been drawn), the observations of Diodorus would not at all affect the passages above cited,

CHAP. to buffoons, and punsters, and flatterers, and all  
 XXXIV. the worthless retinue of intemperance and folly.  
 These disgraceful associates of the prince, formed  
 in time of war, a regiment apart, of about eight  
 hundred men, whose gradual waste was continually  
 recruited by new members, who either soon  
 soon became worthy of the old, or, as they shall  
 soon have occasion to relate, the whole band were  
 alike cowardly and profligate.

and policy. But in whatever manner Philip employed his  
 private hours, he at no time lost sight of those  
 great principles of policy which regulated his pub-  
 lic administration. Under pretence of wanting  
 money to supply the expense of his buildings,  
 and other public works, he employed an expedient  
 which is well known in latter times, and which  
 has been carried to such excess as threatens the  
 safety of those governments which it was intended  
 to uphold. The letting loose of the Delphic trea-  
 sures had diffused near a million sterling over  
 Greece\*. The unsettled state of that country  
 rendered those who had acquired wealth very un-  
 certain of enjoying it. With the rich and avari-  
 cious, Philip employed proper agents to take up  
 money at high interest, which procured him two

\* The sacred war lasted ten years, and cost the Phocians ten thou-  
 sand talents, near two millions; it had already lasted five years, and  
 may be supposed to have cost near the half of that sum. Diodor. l. xvi.  
 p. 453. He says, that the gold and silver dedications (which were coin-  
 ed into money), *ὑπερβαλον τα μυρια τελευττα*, "exceeded ten thousand  
 talents;" a prodigious sum (considering the relative value of money  
 in those days), of which the sudden diffusion could not fail to produce  
 most important consequences.

† Justin. viii. 3.



## CHAP XXXV.

*Negligence and Licentiousness of the Athenians.—Philip's Intrigues in Eubœa.—Phocion defeats the Macedonians and Eubœans.—Philip invades the Olynthian Territory.—Demosthenes' Oration in favour of the Olynthians.—Expedition of Chares.—Philip takes Olynthus.—Celebrates the Festival of the Muses at Dion.—Continues naval Depredations on Attica.—His Embassy to Athens.—The Athenian Embassy to Philip.—Character of the Ambassadors.—Their Conference with the King.—Differently reported to the Senate and Assembly.—Philip's Conquests in Thrace.—The Phocian War.—Negotiations.—Philip's Intrigues.—Decree of the Amphictyons against Phœcis.—Executed by Philip.—Macedon acknowledged the principal Member of the Amphictyonic Council.*

CHAP. XXXV. **T**HE Athenians, deceived by the inactivity of the King of Macedon, indulged themselves, without reserve, in their favourite amusements; Their confederates, the Phocians, were abandoned; the war with Philip, in which they might well have considered themselves as principals, was neglected. Magistrates and people seemed solely attentive to regulate public festivals and processions, and to ascertain the disputed merits of dramatic poets and performers. The fund originally intended for the

Negligence and  
licentiousness of the  
Athenians.  
Olymp. cvii. 4.  
A. C. 349.

exigencies of war, had already been appropriated to the theatre; and a law was now enacted, on the motion of Eubulus, an artful flatterer of the multitude, rendering it a capital crime to propose any change in this unexampled and most whimsical destitution. It was in vain for Demosthenes to resist the popular torrent. He was opposed and overwhelmed by Eubulus and Demades, the latter of whom, with talents that might have adorned his country, condescended to sell his interests to the public enemy.

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Born in the lowest condition of life, Demades retained the vices of his birth, and always discovered that sordid spirit, and wavered in those brutal excesses, which betray the want of early culture. Yet the acuteness of his apprehension, the strength of his reason and memory, and above all, the bold and copious flow of his unpremeditated eloquence, in which he was allowed to excel even Demosthenes\* himself, raised him to a conspicuous rank in the assembly; and it being his business, as the hireling of Philip, to sail along with the stream of popular frenzy, which the patriotism of his rival endeavoured to struggle with and to stem, he enjoyed a free and ample scope for exercising his abilities.

Justified  
by De-  
mades.

The people of Athens triumphed in the victory of perfidious demagogues over the wisest and best of their fellow-citizens, or rather over the laws and constitution of their country, when Philip began to

Philip's  
intrigues  
in Euboea.  
Olynth.  
civ. 4.  
A. C. 349.

\* Plutarch. in Demosthen.

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play those batteries which he had patiently raised with such skill and secrecy. The island of Eubœa, which he called the fetters of Greece, was the first object of his attack. Since the expulsion of the Thebans, of which we have formerly taken notice, the Athenians had preserved their interest in the island, where they maintained a small body of troops. The different cities, however, enjoyed the independent government of their own laws; they appointed their own magistrates; they sometimes made war against each other; and separately assumed the prerogatives of free and sovereign states, while they all collectively acknowledged their dependence on Athens. Such political arrangements made room for the intrigues of Philip. He fomented their civil discord; gained partisans in each city; and at length, under colour of protecting his allies, landed several Macedonian battalions in the island\*.

Danger to which the Athenian interest in that island was exposed;

Matters were soon disposed to his wish. The Macedonians were allowed to occupy the most advantageous posts. The Athenian party exclaimed and threatened; but Plutarch, the leader of that party, was gained to the interest of Philip, and demanded auxiliaries from Athens, only to betray them into the hands of their enemies. Demosthenes, who alone penetrated this dark scheme of villany, entreated and conjured his countrymen to put no confidence in Plutarch. But he was single in his opinion. Those in the confidence of Philip were

\* *Archin. in Ctesiphont. & Demesth. de falsa Legation. & de Pace*

true to their master, and therefore urged the expedition. The friends of their country were eager to save the isle of Eubœa, and the capricious multitude, ever in extremes, rushed with as much impetuosity to an enterprise intended for their ruin, as they had long shewn backwardness to engage in every other\*. The promptitude and vigour of their preparations much exceeded the expectation, and even alarmed the fears, of the Macedonian faction. But the partizans of Philip had gone too far to retreat; nor could they foresee the consequences that happened, so contrary to their hopes. The Athenians, in fact, obtained a decisive victory, not by the strength of their arms, which was inferior to the enemy's, but through the wise choice of a general.

The consummate prudence of Phocion, who on his arrival in Eubœa, found things in a worse state than had been represented, risked no chance of defeat, and lost no opportunity of advantage †. Having chosen a favourable post, which was on all sides surrounded by broken and uneven ground, he despised the clamours of his men and the insults of the enemy. The treacherous Plutarch was quickly defeated in a mock battle, in which he fell back on the Athenian cavalry, who fled in disorder to the camp of Phocion. The Eubœans and Macedonians pursued with a rash and intemperate ardour; and, elated with victory, or confident in their superior numbers, prepared to assail the camp. The general, meanwhile, performed a sacrifice, which he studiously prolonged, either from

from  
which they  
are extri-  
cated by  
Phocion.

\* Demosth. de Pace. † Plutarch. in Phocion.



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He defeats  
the Macedo-  
nians  
and Eu-  
bœans.

religion or policy, until he beheld the disorder of the assailants embarrassed by the unequal ground, and by their own rashness. He then commanded his men to prepare for action, and rallying rapidly from his entrenchments, increased the confusion of the enemy who were repelled with great slaughter towards the plain which they had at first occupied. The activity of Cleophanes, who had rallied and formed the Athenian cavalry, rendered the victory complete. The remnants of the vanquished took refuge in the fortress of Zenæta, in the northern corner of the island, which, being attacked, made a feeble resistance. The garrison surrendered; but Phocion restored all the Eubœans to liberty, lest the people of Athens, inflamed by their popular leaders, might treat them with that cruelty, which, on a similar occasion, they had inflicted on the rebellious citizens of Mitylenæ. Having spent a few weeks in settling the affairs of the island, he returned in triumph to Athens, his ships drawn up in line of battle, their stems crowned with garlands, and the rowers keeping time to the sound of martial music. His fellow citizens received him with acclamations of joy; but their imprudence did not allow them to reap the fruits of his success. Melossus, an obscure stranger, was appointed, by cabal, to command the troops left in the island; and Philip, having renewed his intrigues, gratified them on with the same dexterity, and met with far better success.

\* Plat. in Phocion.

† Plat. in Phocion.

† See above, vol. ii. c. xvi. pp. 243, & seq.

It is worthy of attention, that Demosthenes, followed the standard of Phocion to Euboea, though he had strongly disapproved the expedition. Both he and his rival, Aeschines, of whom we shall soon have occasion to speak more fully, served in the cavalry. Demosthenes was reproached with being the first who deserted his rank, and among the last who returned to the charge. Aeschines behaved with distinguished gallantry, and had the honour of being appointed by Phocion to carry home the first intelligence of the victory\*.

G. H. A. F.  
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Opposite:  
behaviour  
of Demos-  
thenes and  
Aeschines  
in the bat-  
tle.

Philip's disappointment in Euboea only stimulated his activity. His toils were spread so widely all around him, that when one part failed he could catch his prey in another. The Olynthians, against whom he seemed to have long forgotten his resentment, were astonished to observe that several of their citizens grew rich and great in a manner equally sudden and unaccountable; and that they enlarged their possessions, built stately palaces, and displayed in degree of magnificence and grandeur hitherto unknown in their frugal republic. The unexpected invasion of Philip revealed the mystery. A considerable party had grown wealthy by betraying the secrets, exposing the weakness, and fostering the ill-timed security of their country. Their influence at home had recommended them to Philip, and the wages of their iniquity had increased that influence. It would not probably have been difficult to prove their treason, but it seemed dangerous to punish it; and the Olynthians

Philip in-  
vades the  
territory of  
Olynthus.  
Olymp.  
cvi. 4.  
A. C. 349.

\* Aeschin. de falsa Legatione, & Demost. in Midiam.

† Demost. Olynth. passim.

**C H A P.** were more immediately concerned to repel their  
**XXV** ravagers of their territory. In this emergency, they  
 trusted not to their domestic forces of ten thousand  
 foot and one thousand horse\*, but sent an embassy  
 to Athens, inveighing in the strongest terms against  
 Philip, who had first courted, then deceived, and  
 at last invaded and attacked them: and craving  
 assistance from the Athenians, in consequence of  
 the alliance formerly concluded between the two  
 republics, to defeat the designs of a tyrant equally  
 daring and perfidious.

The Olyn-  
 thians im-  
 plore the  
 aid of  
 Athens.

State of  
 parties in  
 Athens.

Had the people of Athens heartily undertaken  
 the cause of Olynthus, Philip would have been op-  
 posed a second time to the danger which he had  
 eluded with so much address in the beginning of  
 his reign. Thebes was employed and exhausted  
 in the Phocian war; the grandeur of Sparta had  
 decayed as much as her principles had degenerated;  
 the inferior states extended not their views of po-  
 licy beyond their respective districts. But the  
 Athenians, recently successful in Euboea, and re-  
 inforced by the strength and resentment of such re-  
 publicans Olynthus might have still rendered them-  
 selves formidable to the public enemy, especially  
 as at this juncture the rebellious humours of the  
 Thessalians broke out afresh, and led them capri-  
 ciously to oppose, with as much eagerness as they had  
 often helped to promote, the interest of Macedon.  
 But to compensate these unpromising circumstances  
 Philip had many strenuous abettors of his power  
 within the walls of Athens and Olynthus; and his  
 garrisons actually commanded the principal posts

\* Demosth. de falsa Legatione

in Thessaly. Above all, the indolence and vices of his enemies were most favourable to his cause. The late success in Euboea, which should have animated a brave and generous people to new exertions and dangers, only replunged the Athenians into a slothful security. While they enjoyed their theatrical entertainments, their shows and festivals, and all the ease and luxury of a city life, they were little inclined to engage in any enterprise that might disturb the tranquil course of their pleasures. In this disposition they were encouraged by their pe-  
sifious demagogues, who strongly exhorted them to beware of involving themselves in the dangers of Olynthus, or of provoking the resentment of a prince whose power they were unable to resist. The orator Demosthenes particularly distinguished his zeal in the Macedonian interest; advising an absolute and total rejection of the demands of the Olynthian Ambassadors.

Demosthenes at length arose, and, as the design of calling the assembly had been already explained, entered immediately on the question unless deliberation. On many occasions, Athenians have the gods declared their favour to this state, but never more manifestly than in the present juncture.

First ora-  
tion of De-  
mosthenes  
in favour  
of the  
Olynthi-  
ans.

I mean not a translation of Demosthenes. The inserting his speeches verbatim would destroy the humble uniformity of this historical work, with the design of which it would be inconsistent to insert what the orator found it necessary to say, repeat, and enforce so often. Besides, Demosthenes is one of the few Greek writers that has been translated, as the late Mr. Harris says in his *Philological Enquiries* by competent persons. Dr. Leland, and Francis, in England; Mr. Tappin and the Abbé Auger, in French; and the Abbé Cesarotti, in Italian.

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That enemies should be raised to Philip on the confines of his territory, enemies not content with in power, and, which is more important, not terminated on the war, that they regard every accommodation in Macedon, first, as insufficient next as the destruction of their country, can be ascribed to anything less, than the bountiful interposition of Heaven. With every thing else on our side, let us not be wanting to ourselves; let us not be reproached with the unspeakable infamy of throwing away, not only those cities and territories, which we inherited from our ancestors, but those occasions and alliances offered us by fortune and the gods. To insist on the power and greatness of Philip belongs not to the present subject. He has become great through your supine neglect, and the perfidy of traitors whom it becomes you to punish. Such topics are not honourable for you: I wave them as superfluous, having matter more material to urge. To call the King of Macedon perjured and perfidious, without proving my assertions, would be the language of insult and reproach. But his own actions, and not my resentment, shall name him; and of these I think it necessary to speak for two reasons; first, that he may appear, what he really is, a wicked man; and, secondly, that the weak minds, who are intimidated by his power and resources, may perceive that the artifices to which he owes them, are now all exhausted, and that his ruin is at hand. As for myself, Athenians! I should not only fear but admire Philip, had he attained his present height of gran-

dear by honourable and equitable means? But, CHAP. XXXV.  
 after the most serious examination, I find, that at  
 first he seduced our simplicity by the flattering  
 promise of Amphipolis; that he next surprised  
 the friendship of Olynthus by the deceitful gift of  
 Potidea; that, lastly, he enslaved the Thessalians  
 under the specious pretence of delivering them  
 from tyrants. In one word, with what community  
 hath he treated, which hath not experienced his  
 fraud? Which of his confederates hath he not  
 shamelessly betrayed? Can it be expected, then,  
 that those who promoted his elevation, because they  
 thought him *their* friend, will continue to support  
 it, when they find him a friend to his own interest  
 alone? Impossible! When confederacies are form-  
 ed on the principles of common advantage and af-  
 fection, each member shares the toils with alacrity;  
 all persevere: such confederacies endure. But  
 when worthlessness and lawless ambition have rais-  
 ed a single man, the slightest accident overthrows  
 the unstable edifice of his grandeur. It is not, no!  
 Athenians! it is not possible to found a lasting  
 power on treachery, fraud, and perjury. These  
 may succeed for a while: but time reveals their  
 weakness. For, as in a house, a ship, and in struc-  
 tures of every kind, the foundation and lower parts  
 should be firm and solid, so the grounds and prin-  
 ciples of action should be just and true. But such  
 qualities belong not to the actions of Philip.

The important, though true, proverb, that in public, as well  
 as in private transactions, "honesty is the best policy," was never  
 more fully justified than in the case of Philip.

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“ I am of opinion, then, that fearless of consequences, you ought to assist Olynthus with the utmost celerity and vigour, and to dispatch an embassy to the Thessalians, to inflame their hostility. But take care, Athenians ! that your ardour evaporate not in mere resolutions and decrees. Be ready to pay your contributions ; prepare to take the field ; show yourselves in earnest, and you will soon discover not only the hollow faith of the allies of Philip, but the internal and concealed infirmity of Macedon itself. That kingdom has emerged from obscurity amidst the contests of neighbouring states, during which the smallest weight, put into either scale, is sufficient to incline the balance. But, in itself, Macedon is inconsiderable and weak, and its real weakness is increased by the splendid but ruinous expeditions of Philip. For the King and his subjects are actuated by very different sentiments. Domineered

expressed, perhaps with such dignity, as in the following words of Demosthenes: *ὅταν μὴ γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τα πρᾶγματα σὺν, καὶ πάλι ταῦτα σὺν τοῖς τοῖς πολεμικοῖς τε καὶ συμπολεμικοῖς, καὶ μὴν ἐκείνῃς ἢ ἀνθρώποις ὅταν διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἰσχύς, ἢ πρῶτον πρᾶσις, καὶ μικρὸν πταίσμα ἀπάντα ἀνυπακούσιν καὶ διακλύσιν· ἢ γὰρ ἴσθι, ὡς ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀδικούντα καὶ ὑποκρίντα καὶ ψευδομένους ἀπομνησθῆναι ἀποσταλέντας· ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ μὴ ἀδελφοὶ, καὶ βραχὺ χρόνος, ἀντήκα καὶ σὺνδρα γὰρ ἡδύσθη καὶ τὰς πόλιν, καὶ πάλιν τὴν χεὶρ δι' αὐτῆς, καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰ κατάρτι· ὅστις γὰρ οὐκ οἶμαι, οἶμαι, καὶ ἄλλοι, καὶ ἴδον ἄλλων τοὺς πόλιν τα κατὰ τὴν ἰσχυροτάτην ἀντὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν πρᾶσιν τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς υποδοχὰς ἀλλοῖς καὶ δικαίαις καὶ προσημαῖα· τὴν δὲ καὶ οἱ τοῖς τῆς πρᾶσιν οὐκ ἔστιν.* Demosthen. Olynth. i. or Olynth. ii. p. 7th, in the common but incorrect edition of Wolfius.

by ambition, he disregards ease and safety ; but his subjects, who individually have little share in the glory of his conquests, are indignant, that, for the sake of one man, they should be harassed by continual warfare, and withdrawn from those occupations and pursuits, which afford the comforts and happiness of private life. On the great body of his people, Philip, therefore, can have no reliance ; nor, whatever may be said of their valour and discipline, can he depend more on his mercenaries. For I am informed, by a man of undoubted veracity, who has just arrived from Macedon, that none of Philip's guards, even those whom he treats with the affectionate, but deceitful names of companions, and fellow-soldiers, can merit his esteem, without incurring his hatred and persecution. Such is the intolerable jealousy, such the malignant envy, which crowns the other odious vices of this monster, who, defying every sentiment of virtue and decency, drives from his presence all who shudder, all who are disgusted, at the most unnatural enormities ; and whose court is continually crowded by buffoons, parasites, obscene poets and drunkards ; wretches who, when drunk, will dance, but such dances\* as modesty dare not name. Slight and trivial as these matters may to some appear, they exhibit the worthlessness of Philip, and announce the infelicity

\* The *τετραμετροι*. Demosth. p. 8. Vid. Schol. ad Aristoph. in Nubid. From the description above given of Athenian manners, it appears that Demosthenes' delicacy was merely complimentary.



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which awaits him. The dangerous defects of his character are hid in the blaze of prosperity\*; but when misfortune happens, his native deformity will appear. For it is easy to prove that, as in the bodily frame, men, during the season of health, are insensible of what is weak and disordered in their constitutions, which imperfections are immediately felt on the first approach of sickness; so the glory of foreign conquest conceals the vices and defects of republics and monarchies; but let calamity happen, let the war be carried to their frontiers, and those hitherto latent evils immediately become manifest.

“If there is a man among you, Athenians! who thinks that Philip is a formidable enemy, because he is fortunate, I agree with that man. Fortune† has a mighty influence, or rather Fortune alone domineers in human affairs. Yet could you be persuaded to do but the smallest part of your duty, I would greatly prefer your fortune to Philip’s; for you, surely, have better reason to trust in the assistance of Heaven. But we remain, I think, inactive, hesitating, delaying, and deliberating, while our enemy takes the field, braving seasons and dangers, and neglecting no opportunity of advantage. And if the indolent and careless are abandoned by their best friends, can we expect that the gods, however favourable, should assist us, if we will not help ourselves?”

\* *Secundæ res miræ sunt vitiiis oblectui.* Sallust.

† From what is said below; it appears that, by Fortune, Demosthenes here means the dispensations of Providence; and by good Fortune, the favour of Heaven.

The people of Athens animated to their duty, on the one hand, by Demosthenes, and seduced, on the other, by the hirelings of Philip\* and their own deceitful passions, imprudently steered a middle course, which, in public affairs, is often the most dangerous. Convinced that the preservation of Olynthus was the best safeguard of Attica, yet unwilling to tear themselves from their beloved pleasures, they determined to send Chares, with a fleet and two thousand mercenaries, to the assistance of their allies. This commander, who was the idol of the multitude, but the disgrace of his country and of his profession†, shewed no solicitude to protect the dependencies of Olynthus, which successively submitted to the Macedonian arms. To gratify the rapacity of his troops, he made a descent on the fertile coast of Pallene where, falling in with eight hundred men commanded by Audæus, called the friends of Philip, he obtained over those contemptible cowards an easy and ludicrous victory, which served only to amuse the comic poets of the times. Having gained this advantage, Chares became unwilling to try his fortune in any severer conflict; and disdaining, as he affected, to follow the motions of Philip, returned home, and celebrated his triumph over the vain, boastful, and voluptuous Audæus;

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The extravagant expedition of Chares.

\* Philochorus in Dionys. Epist. ad Ammonium.

† Timotheus said of him, "that he was fitter to carry the baggage, than to command an army" Plut. in Apophth.

+ Among his contemporaries he was nicknamed *αλεντρου*, the cock. Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 584.

CHAP. not, however, with the spoils of the vanquished; but  
 XXXV with the sum of sixty talents, which he had extorted  
 from the Phocians, who were actually in alliance  
 with Athens\*.

Philip  
 besieges  
 Olynthus.

The thoughtless multitude, who judged of the  
 expedition of Chares by the expensive pomp with  
 which he entertained them at his return, talked  
 extravagantly of invading Macedon, and chastising  
 the insolence of Philip, when a second embassy  
 arrived from Olynthus. The inhabitants of this  
 place had been shut up within their walls; they  
 had lost Stagyræ, Miceberna, Toronæ, cities of  
 considerable strength, besides many inferior towns,  
 which, on the first appearance of Philip, were for-  
 ward to receive his bribes, and to open their gates;  
 and this shameful venality, in places well provided  
 for defence, made the King of Macedon observe to  
 his generals, that he would thenceforth consider  
 no fortress as impregnable, which could admit a  
 mule laden with money. Dejected by continual  
 losses, the Olynthians turned their thoughts to ne-  
 gociation, that they might at least, amidst the in-  
 vader, till the arrival of the Athenian succours.  
 Philip penetrated their design, and dexterously  
 turned their arts against them; affecting to lend  
 an ear to their proposals, but meanwhile continu-

\* Athenians, &c. till p. 434.

† Diodorus, l. xvi. p. 450.

‡ Plutarch in Phocion. Diodorus, p. 451, relates the matter some-  
 what differently. But he acknowledges that the King of Macedon boast-  
 ed that he had augmented his dominions more by gold than by arms.  
 Diodorus, p. 450.

ing his approaches, till, having got within forty CHAP. XXXV.  
stadia of their walls, he declared that of two things  
one was necessary; either they must leave Olyn-  
thus, or *he* Macedon.\* This explicit declaration  
from an enemy, who often flattered to destroy,  
but who might always be believed when he threat-  
ened, convinced the Olynthians of what they had  
long suspected; that their utter ruin was at hand.  
They endeavoured to retard the fatal moment by  
a vigorous sally, in which their cavalry, command-  
ed by Apollonides, particularly signalled their  
valour. But they were repulsed by superior num-  
bers, and obliged to take refuge in the city.

In this posture of affairs, the ambassadors sailed Second  
embassy to  
Athens.  
for Athens; and having arrived there, found, to  
their utter astonishment, the multitude still en-  
joying the imaginary triumph of Chares. This  
commander, who chiefly owed his credit to the  
ascendant of superficial qualities over the undis-  
cerning folly of the people, was a warm and active  
partisan of democracy, and as such viewed, even  
by Demosthenes, with too partial eyes. The or-  
ator, besides, well knew that the irregular, useless,  
or destructive operations of the Athenian arms,  
ought not always to be charged on the misconduct  
of the general. The troops were always ill paid;  
sometimes not paid at all; and therefore disobe-  
dient and mutinous. Instead of submitting to con-  
trol, they often controlled their leaders; their  
resolutions were prompt and ungovernable; when  
they could not persuade they threatened; and com-

\* Demosthen. Philipp. iii.

† *Id.* *ibid.*

CHAP. XXXV. **pelled even prudent commanders to measures wild, ruinous, and dishonourable.**

The demands of the Olynthians again enforced by Demosthenes.

Demosthenes, therefore, who again undertook to second the demands of Olynthus, waved all accusation against particular persons. After endeavouring to repress the vain confidence of his countrymen, which had been excited by the supposed advantages of Chares, and the venal breath of corrupt orators, he represents the real and imminent danger of their allies, which he persuades them to regard as their own. The crisis was now arrived, and if they neglected the present opportunity of fulfilling their engagements to Olynthus, they must soon be obliged to meet Philip in Attica. He reminds them of the various occasions, which they had already lost, of repelling this rapacious tyrant, this hostile Barbarian, this mixture of perfidy and violence, for whom he cannot find any name sufficiently reproachful. "But some perhaps will say, it is the business of a public speaker to advise, not to upbraid. We wish to assist the Olynthians, and we will assist them; but inform us how our aid may be rendered most effectual. Appoint magistrates, Athenians! for the inspection of your laws; not to enact new laws; they are already too numerous; but to repeal those whose ill effects you daily experience; I mean the laws respecting the theatrical funds (thus openly I declare it), and some about the soldiery. But the first, the soldier's pay is consumed as theatrical expenses, by the useless and inactive; the second screen from justice the coward who declines the service, and damp the ardour of

the brave who would be ready to take the field: C H A P. XXXV.  
 Till these laws be repealed, expect not that any man will urge your true interest, since his honest zeal must be repaid with destruction." After insisting still farther on this delicate and dangerous subject, Demosthenes probably observed displeasure and resentment in the countenance of his hearers, and then (as his custom was) artfully turning the discourse: "I speak thus, not with a view to give offence, for I am not so mad as wantonly to offend; but because I think it the duty of a public speaker to prefer your interest to your pleasure. Such were the maxims and conduct (you yourselves know it) of those ancient and illustrious orators whom all unite to praise, but none venture to imitate; of the virtuous Aristides, of Nicias, of Pericles, and of him whose name\* I bear. But since ministers have appeared who dare not address the assembly, till they have first *consulted* you about the *counsels* which they ought to give, who ask, as it were, What shall I propose? What shall I advise? In what, Athenians! can I do you pleasure? The sweet draught of flattery has concealed a deadly poison; our strength is enervated, our glory tarnished, the public beggared and disgraced, while those smooth-tongued declaimers have acquired opulence and splendor;

\* Demosthenes, who acted such a distinguished part in the Peloponnesian war. See above, vol. ii. p. xvii p. 269. & seqq.

† It is worthy of observation, that, in this discourse throughout, Demosthenes insists that the people at large enjoyed much less authority in his time than in the days of Aristides &c. &c.

CHAP. Consider, Athenians! how briefly the conduct  
 XXXV. of your ancestors may be contrasted with your  
 own; for, if you would pursue the road to glory  
 and happiness, you need not foreign instructors:  
 it will be sufficient to follow the example of those  
 from whom you are descended. The Athenians  
 of former times, whom the orators never courted,  
 never treated with that indulgence to which you  
 are accustomed, held, with general consent, the  
 sovereignty of Greece for sixty-five years\*; de-  
 posited above ten thousand talents in the citadel;  
 kept the King of Macedon in that submission which  
 a Barbarian owes to Greece; erected many and  
 illustrious trophies of the exploits which their own  
 valour had achieved by land and sea; in a word,  
 are the only people on record whose glorious ac-  
 tions transcend the power of envy. Thus great in  
 war, their civil administration was not less admi-  
 rable. The stately edifices which they raised, the  
 temples which they adorned, the dedications which  
 they offered to the gods, will never be excelled in  
 magnificence; but in private life, so exemplary

depends, he asserts, on the popular orators and magistrates, "*ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοκρατοῖς*." Yet it is well known that since the age of Aristides, the government had become more democratical. Demosthenes himself allows this: the orators, he says, dare not address the people now with that freedom which they used formerly.—This apparent contradiction shews the nature and tendency of that species of popular government which the Greeks called ochlogarchy.—The populace are the slaves of their demagogues, and the demagogues of the populace. Instead of liberty, there is an interchange of servitude.

\* Demosthenes' chronology here is not accurate. See above, vol. iii. p. 66. in the notes.

was their moderation, and so scrupulous their adherence to the frugal maxims of antiquity, that if any of you has examined the house of Aristides or Miltiades, he will find them undistinguished above the contiguous buildings by superior elegance or grandeur. The ambition of those illustrious statesmen was to exalt the republic, not to enrich themselves; and this just moderation, accompanied by piety and patriotism, raised their country (and no wonder!) to the height of prosperity. Such was the condition of Athens under those sincere and honest men. Is it the same, or nearly the same, under the indulgence of our present ministers? I wave other topics on which I might enlarge. But you behold in what solitude we are left. The Lacedæmonians lost; the Thebans harassed by war: no other republic worthy of aspiring to the sovereignty. Yet, at this period, when we might not only have defended our own possessions, but have become the arbiters and umpires of all around us, we have been stripped of whole provinces; we have expended fifteen hundred talents fruitlessly; we have lost, in time of peace, the alliances and advantages which the arms of our ancestors had acquired; and we have raised up and armed a most formidable enemy against ourselves. If not, let the man stand forth who can show from what other cause Philip has derived his greatness. But the miserable condition of our foreign affairs, is, perhaps, compensated by the happiness of our

• Privatus illis census erat brevis,

Commune magnum.

Hor. ode xv. l. 12



CHAP  
XXXV

domestic state, and the splendid improvements of our capital. Roads repaired, walls whitened, *fountains* and *follics*\*! and the ministers who have procured us those magnificent advantages, pass from poverty and meanness to opulence and dignity; build private palaces which insult the edifices of the public; grow greater as their country becomes less, and gradually rise on its ruins. What is the source of this disorder? It is, Athenians! that formerly the people did their duty, took the field in person, and thus kept the magistrates in awe."

Licentiousness of the Athenian troops under the profligate Charidemus.

The assembly remained insensible to the motives of interest and honour. Instead of taking the field in person, they sent to Olynthus a body of foreign infantry, amounting to four thousand, with an hundred and fifty horse, under the command of Charidemus. This unworthy general, who was the slave of his mercenaries, and of his own detestable passions, gratified the rapacity of his troops by ravaging the Macedonian province of Bottiea, on the confines of Chalcis. At length, however, he threw his forces into Olynthus; and the besieged, encouraged by this reinforcement, hazarded another sally, in which they were defeated and repelled with considerable loss. The Athenian mercenaries were rendered every day more contemptible by their cowardice, and more dangerous by their licentiousness. The beastly Charidemus had

\* *Ἰφύλλαι, ἡ φύλλαι.* Demosthenes disdained not such a jingle of words when it presented itself naturally; but as it rarely occurs in his works, it is plain that he never sought for it.

neither inclination nor ability to restrain their irregularities. According to his custom, he drank, at every meal to a scandalous excess; his brutality insulted the women of Olynthus; and such was his impudent, and abandoned profligacy, that he demanded of the senate, as a reward for his pretended services, a beautiful Macedonian youth, then captive in the city\*.

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In this state of affairs, the Olynthians, a third time, applied to Athens. On the present occasion, *Æschines*, who afterwards became such an active partisan of the Macedonian interest, particularly distinguished his zeal and his patriotism. The speech of *Demosthenes*, to the same purpose, is still on record. He exhorts and conjures his countrymen to send to Olynthus an army of citizens, and at the same time to make a diversion, by invading the Macedonian coast. Unless both be done, the indefatigable industry of Philip would render either ineffectual. "Have you ever considered the rapid progress of this prince? He began by taking Amphipolis, then Pydna, Potidæa, and Methoné; from thence he poured his troops into Thessaly, and became master of Pheræ, Pegasæ, and Magnesia. Then turning towards Thrace, he over-ran provinces, conquered and divided kingdoms, and seated himself on the trophies of fallen crowns and broken sceptres. I speak not of his expedition against the Pæonians and Illyrians, into Epirus,—and where has not ambition conducted his arms? But why this long enumeration?

The cause of the Olynthians vigorously supported by *Æschines* and *Demosthenes*.

\* Theopomp. apud Athen. l. x. p. 436.

CHAP. → To prove the important opportunity which  
 XXXV. your negligence has lost, and the unextinguishable  
 ardour of an adversary, whose successive conquests  
 continually bring him nearer to your walls. For  
 is there a man in this assembly, who perceives not  
 that the sufferings of the Olynthians are the fore-  
 runners of our own? The present conjuncture  
 calls you, as with a loud voice, at length to rouse  
 from your lethargy, and to profit by this last testi-  
 mony of the bountiful protection of the gods. An  
 omen is not to be expected, after the many which  
 you have despised and forgotten; I say forgotten;  
 for favourable conjunctures, like riches, and  
 other gifts of Heaven, are remembered with grati-  
 tude, only by those who have understanding to  
 preserve and to enjoy them. The spendthrift dissi-  
 pates his thankfulness with his wealth\*; and  
 the same imprudent folly renders him both miser-  
 able and ungrateful." After these bold expostula-  
 tions, or rather reproaches, he encourages them  
 to relieve Olynthus, by observing, that Philip  
 would never have undertaken the siege of that  
 place, if he had expected such a vigorous resistance;  
 especially at a time when his allies were ready to  
 revolt; when the Thessalians wished to throw off  
 the yoke; when the Thracians and Illyrians hoped  
 to recover their freedom. Thus the power of  
 Philip, lately represented as so formidable, is by ac-

\* The observation is uncommon, but just; ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν παροῦσιν ἐν  
 τῷ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν χρόνῳ τὴν ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τῷ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν  
 χρόνῳ, μὴ μάλιν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τῷ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν χρόνῳ, ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν  
 παροῦσιν ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν χρόνῳ τῷ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν χρόνῳ. Demost. Olynth. iii. Olynth. i. p.  
 2. ex edit. Wolf.

mean, real and solid; one vigorous effort might yet overwhelm him; and the passion of hope, as well as that of fear, is rendered subservient to the purpose of the orator. He again touches on the article of supplies; but with such caution as shows that his former more explicit observations had been heard impatiently. "As to money for the expenses of the war (for without money nothing can be done), you possess, Athenians! a military fund exceeding that of any other people. But you have unfortunately withdrawn it from its original destination, to which, were it restored, there could not be any necessity for extraordinary contributions. What! do you propose *in form*\*, that the theatrical money should be applied to the uses of the soldiery? No, surely. But I affirm, that soldiers must be raised; that a fund has been allotted for their subsistence; and that, in every well-regulated community, those who are paid by the public, ought to serve the public. To profit of the present conjuncture, we must act with vigour and celerity; we must dispatch ambassadors to animate the neighbouring states against Philip; we must take the field in person. If war raged on the frontiers of this country, with what rapidity would the Macedonians march hither? Why will you throw away a similar opportunity? Know, that but one alternative remains, to carry the war into Macedon, or to receive it in Attica. If Olynthus resists, we may ravage the territories of Philip;

\* Such a proposal the Athenians had absurdly declared punishable by death.

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should that republic be destroyed, who will hinder him from coming hither? The Thebans! to say nothing too severe, they would rather reinforce his arms. The Phocians! they who, without our assistance, cannot defend themselves. Oh but he dares not come! It is madness to think that the designs of which he already boasts with such bold imprudence, he will not venture to execute, when nothing opposes his success\*. I think it unnecessary to describe the difference between attacking Philip at home, and waiting for him here. Were you obliged, only for one month, to encamp without the walls, and to subsist an army in the country, your husbandmen would sustain more loss than has been incurred by all the former exigencies of the war. This would happen, although the enemy kept at a distance; but at the approach and entrance of an invader, what devastation must be produced! Add to this, the insult and disgrace, the most ruinous of all losses, to men capable of reflection."

Philip  
takes  
Olynthus.  
Olymp.  
eviii. 1.  
A. C. 348.

The arguments of Demosthenes prevailed: an embassy was sent into Peloponnesus, to inflame the hostility of that country against Philip; and it was determined to assist the Olynthians with an

\* With all his policy, Philip seems to have had the vanity of a Greek. The vigour of the original is not to be translated: "Αἱ δὲ μὲν Φωκῆες, καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐξ. πικρῶσι θυρο βολῶν; Θηβαῖοι; μὲν μὴ. πρὶν ἢ καὶ συνισθῶσι στείμεις. ἀλλὰ Φοικῆς; οἱ τὴν οἰκίαν ἔχ. ἵσι τε οὐκ ἐφατταν, οὐδ' ἐβόησαν ὅτις ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄλλος τις; ἀλλ' ὅταν ἔχ. βέλλονται—ταὶ ἀποστῶσιν αὐτοὶ αἱ αἰ. αἱ τὴν αἰσιν ἐφίστανται, ἡμεῖς πάλαι, ταῦτα διδοῦς, μὴ πρὶν. I have used a little freedom with the "ἐχ. βέλλονται."

army of Athenian citizens. But before this reso- CHAP.  
 lution could be carried into effect, Olynthus was XXXV.  
 no more. The cavalry belonging to that place  
 had acted with great spirit against the besiegers.  
 As the works were too extensive to be completely  
 invested, the Olynthian horsemen made frequent  
 incursions\* into the surrounding territory, where  
 they not only supplied themselves with provisions;  
 and forage, but beat up the quarters, attacked  
 the advanced posts, and intercepted the convoys  
 of the enemy. These advantages were chiefly  
 owing to the merit of one man. In the various  
 skirmishes, as well as in the two general engage-  
 ments which had happened since the commence-  
 ment of the siege, Philip perceived that Apollon-  
 ides, who commanded the enemy's horse, dis-  
 played such valour and abilities as might long re-  
 tard, perhaps altogether defeat, the success of his  
 undertaking. His secret emissaries were therefore  
 set to work: perfidious clamours were sown among  
 the populace of Olynthus; Apollonides was pub-  
 licly accused; and by the malignant practices of  
 traitors, condemned to banishment on a suspicion  
 of treason†. The command of the cavalry was  
 bestowed on Lasthenes and Euthykrates, two  
 wretches who had sold their country to Philip.  
 Having obtained some previous successes, which  
 had been concerted the better to mask their de-  
 signs, they advanced against a Macedonian post:  
 carried it at the first onset; pursued the flying gar-

\* Diodor. l. xvi. 53. † Demosth. de falsa Legat.

CHAP. rison; and betrayed their own troops into an am-  
 XXXV. bush prepared by the enemy. Surrounded on all  
 sides, the Olynthians surrendered their arms; and  
 this fatal disaster encouraging the Macedonian par-  
 tisans within the walls, soon opened the gates of  
 Olynthus\*. The conquerer entered in triumph,  
 plundered and demolished the city; and dragged  
 the inhabitants into servitude. Lathæus, Eu-  
 thyrates, and their associates, shared the same, or  
 even a worse fate. Philip is said to have abandon-  
 ed them to the indignant rage of the Macedonian  
 soldiers, who butchered them almost before his  
 eyes. It is certain, that though his mean and  
 blind ambition often employed treachery, his jus-  
 tice or his pride always detested the traitor†.

This im-  
 portant  
 conquest  
 inspires  
 Philip  
 with the  
 ambition  
 to seize  
 Thermo-  
 pylæ

The conquest of Olynthus put Philip in posses-  
 sion of the region of Chalcis, and the northern  
 coast of the Ægean sea; an acquisition of terri-  
 tory, which rendered his dominions on that side  
 round and complete. His kingdom was now  
 bounded, on the north by the Thracian posses-

\* Demosth. de falsa Legatione.

† Four reasons conspired to produce the severe treatment of the Olynthians;—1. Philip had lost a great many men in the siege; *ἦσαν τοὶ στρατιῶται οὗτοι τοὺς τετραμύριας ἀνέβησαν*. Diodor. p. 450. 2. The Olynthians had received his natural brothers, Aridæus and Menelaus, accused of treason. Justin. l. viii. c. lii. 3. Philip wanted money to carry on his intrigues in other cities; *διὰ τούτου δὲ αὐτῶν* (scil. *Φιλίππου*) *καὶ τῶν συνειντώντες ἐκείνων ποδιστάταις, ἐλαφύσαντο αὐτὸ δὲ πρὸς τὰς χρημάτων οὐ πολλὰν ὡς τοὺς πολέμων ἀπορροήν*. 4. Diodorus immediately after adds the fourth reason, "That he might deter the neighbouring cities from opposing his measures." Diodor. p. 450.

‡ Demosth. Olynth. iii. sect. 3.

sions of Kersobleptes, and on the south by the territory of Phocis, a province actually comprehending the straits of Thermopylæ, which had formerly belonged to a different division of Greece. Besides the general motives of interest, which prompted him to extend his dominions, he discerned the peculiar importance of acquiring the Thermopylæ and the Hellespont, since the former was emphatically styled the Gates of Greece, and the latter formed the communication between that country and the fertile shores of the Euxine. Greece, exceeding in population the proportion of its extent, and fertility, annually drew supplies of corn from those northern regions. The Athenians, in particular, had settlements, even in the remote peninsula of Chim, Tartary, anciently called the Taurica Chersonesus, by means of which they purchased and imported the superfluous productions of that remote climate\*. Their ships could only sail thither by the Hellespont; and should that important strait be reduced under the power of an enemy, they must be totally excluded from an useful, and even necessary branch of commerce.

Philip perceived these consequences. It was the interest of all the Grecian republics to unite in assisting Kersobleptes and the Phocians, which was in other words, to defend the Hellespont and Thermopylæ. The interest of the Macedonian was diametrically opposite; nor could he expect to

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and the Hellespont.

Philip celebrates the festival of the Muses at Dium. Olymp. cviii. 1. A. C. 348.

\* Demosthen. in Leptin.



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accomplish the great objects his reign, unless he first rendered himself master of those important stations. This delicate situation furnished a proper exercise for the dexterity of Philip. After the destruction of Olynthus, he celebrated a public festival of gratitude and joy, at the neighbouring town of Diium; to which, as at the Olympian and other Grecian games, all the republics were promiscuously invited, whether friends or enemies\*. It appears that several Athenians assisted at these magnificent entertainments, which lasted nine days, in honour of the Muses, and which wanted no object of elegance or splendour, that either art could produce or wealth could purchase. The politeness and condescending affability of Philip obliterated the remembrance of his recent severity to Olynthus; and his liberal distribution of the spoils of that unfortunate city† gained him new

\* Demosth. de falsa Legatione, & Diodor. p. 451.

† Both Demosthenes and Diodorus mention an anecdote which does honour to Philip, and still more to Satyrus the player. After dinner, the King, according to his custom, was distributing his presents: amidst the general festivity, Satyrus alone wore a sad countenance. The King addressed him kindly, and, in the language of the times, desired him to ask a boon. Satyrus said, that such presents as others received (cups of gold, &c.) seemed to him of little value; that he had indeed something to ask, but feared a denial. Philip having encouraged him, he proceeded: "Apollonides of Pydna was my friend: at his death, his two daughters, both arrived at a marriageable age, were sent to Olynthus, taken captive, and subjected to all the calamities of servitude. These are the presents I request, not with any design unworthy of their father or myself, but that I may give them such portions as shall enable them to want no pity." Apollonides had been an active opponent, and even

friends, and confirmed the attachment of his old C H A P.  
partisans. XXXV.

Amidst these scenes of rejoicing and festivity, Philip unexpectedly commits naval depredations on Attica. Philip seems not to have forgotten one moment, that the most immediate object of his policy was to detach the Athenians from the cause of Phocis and Kersobleptes, who were both their allies. For this purpose, while he courted individuals with peculiar address, he determined to make the public feel the inconvenience of the war, the better to prepare them for the insidious proposal of a separate peace. The bad conduct of Chares left the sea open to the Macedonians, who had silently acquired a considerable naval force. Philip began to attack the Athenians on their favourite element. His fleet ravaged their tributary islands of Lemnos and Imbros; surprised and took a squadron of Athenian vessels, stationed on the southern coast of Eubœa; and, encouraged by these advantages, boldly sailed to Attica, made a descent on the shore of Marathon, repelled the Athenian cavalry, headed by Deotimus, ravaged the territory, and carried off the Salaminian galley. From thence the victors proceeded to the isle of Salamis, and defeated a considerable detachment commanded by Charidemus. The illustrious trophies of Marathon and Salamis were effaced by the insults of the Macedonians, whose fleet returned home in tri-

the personal enemy of Philip; yet this prince granted the request of Satyrus, and enabled him liberally to provide for the daughters of his friend.

C H A P. umph, adorned with hostile spoils, and with military and naval glory\*.

XXXV.

His intrigues give him possession of Eubœa.

His deceitful embassy to Athens.

The activity of Philip seconded his good fortune. His intrigues were renewed in Eubœa. Under pretence of delivering that island from the tyranny and extortions of Molossus, the Athenian commander, he landed such a body of troops there, as proved sufficient, with the assistance of his adherents, to expel the Athenians. Such a multiplication of calamities might have disgusted that people with the war against Philip, whose hostility, directed against them alone, seemed to have forgotten the Phocians and Kersobleptes; when secret but zealous partisans of Macedon arrived at Athens, as ambassadors from Eubœa, commissioned to settle amicably all differences between the two countries. They observed, that Philip had left the island absolutely free and independent; and that, though constrained to take arms in defence of his allies, he was sincerely desirous of making peace with the Athenians. The representations of the Eubœan ambassadors were enforced by the influence of two Athenians, Aristodemus and Neoptolemus, the first distinguished as a player, the second as a player and poet, who having acquired fortunes in Macedon, returned to their own coun-

\* In the chronology of these events, I have followed Dr. Leland. See his *life of Philip*, vol. ii. p. 42. The events themselves are related in the oration of Demosthenes commonly intitled the First Philippic, but which the Doctor, with great probability, considers as two distinct orations spoken at different times.

try, to forward the measures of their liberal protector. They affirmed, that the King of Macedon earnestly wished to live on good terms with the republic; and the Athenians paid much regard to men whose talents were then highly esteemed, and who remitted the riches amassed in a foreign country, to purchase lands in Attica, and to supply with alacrity the exigencies of the public service.

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Demosthenes saw through these dark and deep artifices\*; but in vain endeavoured to alarm the unsuspecting credulity of his countrymen. On a future occasion, after the plot had become manifest, he upbraids their careless indifference and delusion at this important crisis. "Had you been spectators in the theatre, and not deliberating on matters of the highest moment, you could not have heard Neoptolemus with more indulgence, nor me with more resentment†."

in vain exposed by Demosthenes.

Such was the disposition of the assembly, when Æschines returned from his Peloponnesian embassy. He had assembled the great council of the Arcadians; revealed to them the dangerous views of Philip, which threatened the liberty of Greece; and, notwithstanding the powerful opposition of Hieronymus, and other Macedonian partisans, had engaged that people to approve the patriot zeal of Athens, and to deliberate on taking arms in the common cause. In relating the success of his embassy, he inveighed with great severity against

Æschines returns from his embassy and awakens the public resentment against Philip.

\* Demosthen. de Chersoneso, & de Pace.

† Demosthen. de Chersoneso.

CHAIR those mercenary traitors, who had sold the interests  
 XXXV. of their country to a cruel tyrant. The Greeks  
 had full warning of their danger. The miserable  
 fate of Olynthus ought ever to be before their  
 eyes. At his return through Peloponnesus, he  
 had beheld a sight sufficient to melt the most ob-  
 durate heart; thirty young Olynthians, of both  
 sexes, driven like a herd of cattle, as a present  
 from Philip to some of the unworthy instruments  
 of his ambition\*.

The susceptible and ever-varying temper of the  
 multitude was deeply affected by the representa-  
 tions of Aeschines: the pacific advices of Neopto-  
 lemus and his associates were forgotten; war and  
 revenge again echoed through the assembly. At  
 the requisition of Aeschines, ambassadors were  
 dispatched to confirm the hostile resolutions of the  
 Arcadians, and to awaken the terror of the neigh-  
 bouring republics. The Athenian youth were as-  
 sembled in the temple of Agraulus to swear irre-  
 concilable hatred against Philip and the Mac-  
 donians; and the most awful imprecations were  
 denounced against the mercenary traitors who co-  
 operated with the public enemy. This fermenta-  
 tion might at length have purified into strong and  
 decisive measures; and had Philip possessed only  
 an ordinary degree of vigilance, a confederacy  
 might have been performed in Greece sufficient to  
 repel the Macedonian's arms. But that consum-  
 mate politician thought nothing done while any

\* Demosthen. de falsa Legatione, sect. 5.

thing was neglected; and, as he allowed not the slightest opportunity to pass unimproved, he often derived very important benefits from seemingly inconsiderable causes.

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An Athenian of the name of Phrynon, a man wealthy and powerful, had been attacked, robbed, and confined, by some Macedonian soldiers, who obliged him to purchase his liberty by a very considerable ransom*. As this violence had been committed during the fifteen days of truce that followed the celebration of the Olympic games, Phrynon very reasonably supposed that the King of Macedon, who had long been ambitious of obtaining a place in the Grecian confederacy, would not abet this act of aggravated impiety. He had therefore requested his countrymen, who at that time prepared to negotiate with Philip an exchange of prisoners, to join him in commission with Ctesiphon, a man of experience and capacity, who had been already named to that embassy, imagining that by appearing in a public character he might the more easily recover the ransom and other monies that had been unjustly extorted from him. Having arrived in Macedon, the ambassadors were received and treated by Philip with uncommon politeness and respect; their demands were most obligingly granted, or rather prevented; the King apologised to Phrynon for the ignorant rusticity of his soldiers, which had led them to act so unwarrantably; and he lamented both to Phrynon and Ctesiphon, the necessity of their present

Dexterity
of that
prince in
diverting
the storm.

* *Archines de falsa Legatione.*

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He im-
proves
every fa-
vourable
incident.

The Athe-
nians are
persuaded

mission, since he had nothing more sincerely at heart than to live on good terms with their republic. At their return to Athens, the representations of such men could not be without weight; nor could they fail to be extremely favourable to the King of Macedon.

Another incident followed; which was improved with no less dexterity. At the taking and sack of Olynthus, Stratocles, and Eucrates, two Athenians of distinction, had been seized and carried into Macedon. By some accident these men had not been released with the other prisoners. Their relations were anxious for their safety, and therefore applied to the Athenians, that a proper person might be sent to treat of their ransom. Aristodemus was employed in this commission, but was more diligent in paying his court than in performing his duty; and, at his return home, neglected to give an account of his negotiation. Philip, meanwhile, whose vigilance never slept, and who well knew the hostile resolutions in agitation against him at Athens, released the prisoners without ransom, and dismissed them with the highest expressions of regard. Moved by gratitude, Stratocles appeared in the assembly, blazed forth the praises of the King of Macedon, and loudly complained against the careless indifference of Aristodemus, who had neglected to report his embassy.

The artful player, thus called upon to act his part, excused his omitting to relate one example of

Kindness in a man who had recently given so many proofs of the most unbounded generosity. He expatiated on the candour and benevolence of Philip, and especially on his profound respect for the republic, with which, he assured them, the King of Macedon was earnest to conclude a peace, and even to enter into an alliance, on the most honourable and advantageous terms. He probably reminded them of the misfortunes which had attended their arms ever since they commenced war against this prince: Fifteen hundred talents expended with disgrace; seventy-five dependent cities, including those of the Chalcidic region, lost irrecoverably; Olynthus destroyed; Eubœa revolted; Athens dishonoured and exhausted; and Macedon more powerful and more respected than at any former period. This representation did not exceed the truth; and the calamities of the war had long inclined to peace the more moderate and judicious portion of the assembly. The artificial generosity of Philip, in his treatment of Phrynon and Stratocles blazoned by the eloquence of Aristodemus, fixed the wavering irresolution of the multitude. The military preparations were suspended. Even Demosthenes and Æschines yielded to the torrent; and imagining that a bad peace was better than a bad war (since it was impossible to expect success from the fluctuating councils of their country), supported a decree* of Philocrates for sending a

* The decree was attacked by one Lucius. Demosthenes defended it: and both Demosthenes and Æschines, as appears from the text, were on the embassy.

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 herald and ambassador to penetrate the real intentions of Philip, and to sift those terms of accommodation with which he had so long amused them.

Character
 of the am-
 bassadors.

The ministers appointed to this commission seem to have been purposely chosen among men of opposite principles, who might mutually be checks on each other. Phrynion, Ctesiphon, Aristodemus, and Philocrates, who had uniformly testified their confidence in the King of Macedon, were opposed by Eschines and Demosthenes, who had long discovered their suspicions of that prince. To the embassy were added Nausicles and Dercylus, men distinguished by the public offices which they had discharged with equal patriotism and fidelity; Iatrocles, the chosen friend of Eschines; and Cimon, illustrious for the name he bore, which descended to him from the greatest and most fortunate of the Athenian commanders. The whole number amounted to ten, besides Agalcreeon of Tenedos, who was sent on the part of the Greek islands in alliance with Athens.

Difficulties occasioned by the quarrel between Demosthenes and Eschines.

Thus far contemporary authors agree; but in describing the events which followed the departure of the ambassadors, all is inconsistency and contradiction. The misunderstanding that arose between Eschines and Demosthenes, the former of whom was impeached by the latter, furnish us in the accusation and defence with the fullest and most diffuse, but at the same time the least authentic materials, that present themselves in any passage of

Demosthen. & Eschines de falsa Legatione.

Grecian history. The whole train of the negotiation, as well as the events connected with it, are represented in colours the most discordant; facts are asserted and denied; while both parties appeal to the memory of the assembly before which they spoke, to the testimony of witnesses, and even to the evidence of public decrees and records; circumstances that must appear very extraordinary, unless we consider that suborning of witnesses, perjury and even the falsifying of laws and records, were crimes not unusual at Athens*. Amidst this confusion, the discerning eye of criticism would vainly endeavour to penetrate the truth. *Æschines* was indeed acquitted by his countrymen: But nothing positive can be learned from a partial sentence, pronounced three years after the alleged crimes had been committed, when the power of *Philip* had increased to such an alarming degree, as gave his faction a decided ascendant even in the Athenian assembly.

To disentangle such perplexity, we shall keep chiefly to those facts which are allowed on both sides, deducing from them such consequences as seem most natural and probable. In the course of one year, three embassies were sent to *Philip*; the first to propose a peace, the second to ratify it, the third to see the conditions of it fulfilled; and in that space of time *Kersobleptes*, being stripped of his dominions, was reduced into captivity, and *Philip* having seized *Thermopylæ*, invaded *Phocis*,

Account of the negotiation. *Olymp.* cxxiii. 1. cxxiii. 2. A.C. 348. and 347.

* See my Discourse on the Characters and Manners of the Athenians prefixed to *Lysias* and *Isocrates*.

C. H. A. P. and destroyed the twenty-two cities of that pro-
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 vince in less than twenty-two days. Nor was this
 all. A foreign prince having made himself master
 of Thermopylae and the Hellespont, the most valu-
 able safeguards of Greece—having invaded and de-
 solated the territory of a Grecian republic, the most
 respectable for its antiquity, power and wealth,
 the seat of the Amphictyonic council, and of the
 revered oracle of Delphi—These daring measures
 tended so little to excite the displeasure of Greece,
 that the King of Macedon had no sooner accomplish-
 ed them, than he threatened to attack Athens (who
 weakly lamented calamities which she had neither
 prudence nor courage to prevent) at the head of a
 general confederacy of the Amphictyonic states.

Dissention
 of the am-
 bassadors.

Such extraordinary transactions, of which history
 scarcely offers another example for the instruction
 of posterity, Demosthenes ascribes entirely to the
 corruption and perfidy of the Athenian ambassa-
 dors. "The felicity of Philip," he says, "con-
 sists chiefly in this; that having occasion for trait-
 ors, fortune has given him men treacherous and
 corrupt beyond his most sanguine hopes and
 prayers." This doubtless is the exaggeration
 of an orator, desirous by every means to blacken
 the character of his colleagues in the embassy, and
 particularly that of his adversary Eschines. Yet
 it will appear, from the most careful survey of the
 ancient historians, that the conduct of the Athenian
 ambassadors was far from blameless.

Subsequent writers have copied the language of Demosthenes,
 και χρηματισται: ἄλλος δὲ αὖτις τοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τοῦ Ἰσχυροῦ, πόλιν ἐξ ἧς ἔρχεται
 τῇ παρασκευῇ. Diodorus, ubi supra.

events of those times, that the incapacity and neglect, if not the treason, of the Athenian ministers greatly contributed to the success of the Macedonian arms.

CH. A. T.
XXXV

From the first moment of their departure from Athens, the ambassadors began to betray their mutual jealousies and suspicions of each other's fidelity. The dangerous character of Philocrates was equally dreaded by Æschines and Demosthenes; and the latter, if we may believe his rival, so much disgusted the other ambassadors by the morose severity of his temper, that they had almost excluded him from their society, a circumstance rendered credible, not merely by the partial evidence of an adversary, but by the resentment and indignation always expressed by Demosthenes against the behaviour of his colleagues. Having arrived at Pella, they were introduced to an audience; and spoke, as had been agreed on, in the order of their seniority. The discourse of Æschines was the most copious and elaborate, but seemed rather calculated for gaining merit with the Athenian assembly, than for influencing the conduct of Philip. He recalled to the memory of the King the favours of the Athenians towards his ancestors; the distressed condition of the children of Amyntas; the solicitations of Eurydice; and the generous interpositions of Iphicrates, to whom the family of Philip owed the crown of Macedon. Having touched slightly on the ungrateful returns made by Ptolemy and Perdicas, he dwelt on the

Conference of
the ambas-
sadors
with Phi-
lip.

Speech of
Æschines.

* Demosthen. & Æschin. de falsa Legatione.

CH. A. P. injustice of those hostilities which Philip had com-
 mitted against the republic, especially in taking
 Amphipolis, while his father Amyntas had not
 knownledge to be a dependent colony of Athens.
 He insisted on the impropriety of retaining this
 possession, which as it could not be claimed by
 any ancient title, neither could it be held by the
 right of conquest, not being gained in any war
 between the two states. In the time of profound
 peace between Athens and Macedon, Philip had
 taken from the Amphipolitans an Athenian deity,
 which concerned his justice and his honour to
 restore, without delay, to its lawful and acknow-
 ledged owners." THE HISTORY OF THE PEACE AND EVILS OF

That of
 Demos-
 thenes.

Had Eschines wished to furnish Philip with a
 pretence for protracting the negotiation, he could
 not have done it more effectually than by such a
 demand. It could not possibly be expected, that
 a victorious monarch should set bounds to his own
 triumphs, in order to purchase peace by tamely
 surrendering one of the most important of his ac-
 quisitions. In this light the proposal appeared to
 Demosthenes, who thought that his colleague had
 totally forgotten the object of the embassy, the
 distressed state of Athens, how greatly the people
 had been harassed by the war, and how eagerly they
 wished for peace. It was now his business to
 speak before a prince whom he had often and
 highly offended, whose character and actions he
 had ever viewed and represented with the utmost
 severity; but whom, on the present occasion, it
 was his business to sooth rather than to irritate.

The novelty of the situation might have disconcerted a man of less sensibility than Demosthenes. The nervous jealousy of his colleagues was prepared to listen, with a malicious eye, to those irresistible arguments which the orator is said to have promised, with a very unbecoming confidence; the Macedonian courtiers expected some prodigy of eloquence from the perpetual opponent of their admired master. Amidst the silent suspense of an unfavorable audience, Demosthenes began to speak with ungraceful hesitation; and, after uttering a few obscure and interrupted sentences, his memory totally forsook him. Philip endeavoured to remove his embarrassment with a mortifying politeness; telling him that he was not now in a theatre, where such an accident might be attended with disagreeable consequences; and exhorting him to take time for recollection, and to pursue his intended discourse. Demosthenes again began; but without better success. The assembly beheld his confusion with a malignant pleasure; and the ambassadors were ordered to withdraw.

His embarrassment and confusion.

After a proper interval, they were summoned to the royal presence. Philip received them with great dignity; and answered, with precision and elegance, the arguments respectively used by the several speakers; particularly those of Ischines. His name had been mentioned before as a speaker.

Philip answers the ambassadors.

Notwithstanding the passion of the Athenians for dramatic entertainments, and their wonderful success in the art of playing, beyond that of any other nation, they were incessantly severe against their negligencies and faults on the theatre: as appears from various passages of the several orations of Demosthenes and Ischines.

CHAP.

XXXV.

invites
them to
an enter-
tainment.

Their de-
parture
from Ma-
cedon.

Artifices
of Demos-
thenes.

The confused hints of Demosthenes he passed over with merited neglect; thus proving to the world, that the man who had ever arraigned him with most severity in the tumultuous assemblies of Greece, had not dared to say any thing in his presence which deserved the smallest notice or reply. The ambassadors were then invited to an entertainment, where Demosthenes is said to have behaved with great weakness; and where Philip displayed such powers of merriment and festivity, as eclipsed his talents for negotiation and war. The ambassadors were persuaded of his candour and sincerity, and dismissed with a letter to the people of Athens, assuring them that his intentions were truly pacific, and that as soon as they consented to an alliance with him, he would freely indulge those sentiments of affection and respect which he had ever entertained for their republic.

The mortification which Demosthenes had received, made him at first vent his chagrin by condemning the conduct of his colleagues; but when he reflected, that a fair representation of facts would greatly depreciate his character at Athens, policy prevailed over resentment. He began privately to tamper with his companions on the road, freely rallied the confusion into which he had been betrayed, extolled the ready genius and memory of Eschines; and endeavoured, by promises and flattery, to ingratiate himself with those whom his recent behaviour had justly provoked and disgusted. In a conversation at Larissa in Thessaly, he acknowledged the masterly reason-

ing of the King of Macedon. The ambassadors H A P.
XXXV.
all joined in the praises of this extraordinary man. Eschines, admired the strength and perspicuity with which he had answered their respective discourses; and Ctesiphon cried out in transport, that in the course of a long life he had never beheld a man of such a polite and engaging deportment. Demosthenes then artfully said, "he apprehended they would not venture to make such representations to the Athenian assembly; that their honour and safety required them to be consistent in their reports;" to which they all assented; and Eschines acknowledges, that he was prevailed on by the entreaties of his rival to promise, that he would give a favourable and false account of the behaviour of Demosthenes, and assure the people of Athens, that he had spoken with dignity and firmness on the affair of Amphipolis.

According to the forms of the republic, the ambassadors first reported the success of their negotiation, and delivered the letter of Philip to the senate of the Five Hundred. They explained, in order, what each had said in presence of the King; when Demosthenes, rising up the last, affirmed with his usual oath of asseveration*, "that the ambassadors had not spoken in the senate as they did before Philip; that they had spoken much better in Macedon;" he then moved, that they should be honoured with a crown of

They report their negotiation to the senate.

* *Μα ὦν*, indecently explained "by Jove," since the expression is elliptical, and includes a short prayer, *ὡς ἔδει μοι Δία καὶ ἑταίρους*; "my assertion is true, may Jove thus protect me."

CHAP sacred olive*, and invited next day to an entertain-
XXXV. ment in the Prytanæum†.

The same
reported
to the
assembly.

Extraordi-
nary beha-
viour of
Demos-
thenes.

The day following, they made their report to the assembly of the people; when the ambassadors, finding the subject not disagreeable to their hearers, expatiated on the politeness, condescension, eloquence, and abilities of the prince, with whom their republic was ready not only to negotiate a peace, but to contract an alliance. Having allowed them to exhaust this fertile subject, Demosthenes at length arose and, after those contortions of body which, if we believe his adversary, were familiar to him, declared, that he was equally surprised at those who, in a deliberation of such importance, could talk of such trifles, and at those who could endure to hear them. "The negociation may be briefly reported. Here is the decree by which we are commissioned. We have executed this commission. Here is Philip's answer (pointing to the letter.) You have only to examine its contents." A confused murmur arose in the assembly, some applauding the strength and precision of the speech, others condemning the asperity of the speaker. As soon as he could be heard, Demosthenes thus proceeded: "You shall see how I will lop off those superfluous matters. Æschines praises the memory and eloquence of Philip, in which, however, I find nothing extraordinary, since any other man, placed in the same advantage-

* See the discourse of Lysias on an accusation for cutting down a consecrated olive.

† Æschin. de falsa Legatione.

our circumstances of rank and fortune, would be equally attended to and admired. Ctesiphon praises the gracefulness and dignity of his person; my colleague Aristodemus does not yield to him in these particulars. Others admire his mirth and gaiety at table, yet in such qualities Philocrates excels him*. But this is unseasonable. I shall therefore draw up a decree for convening an extraordinary assembly, to deliberate on the peace and the alliance†.”

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The decree was proposed on the eighth of March, and the assembly was fixed for the seventeenth of the same month. In the interval, arrived, as ambassadors from Philip, Antipater, the most respected of his ministers; Parmenio, the bravest of his generals; and Eurylochus, who united, almost in an equal degree, the praise of eloquence and valour. Parmenio had been employed in the siege of Halus, a place filled with malcontents from Thessaly, who still resisted the Macedonian power in that country. That he might have leisure to join his colleagues, Parmenio ordered the siege to be converted into a blockade; and the merit of three such ambassadors sufficiently announced the important purposes which Philip wished to effect by the present negotiation. They were received with great distinction by the senate, and (what seems extraordinary) lodged in the house of Demosthenes,

Philip sends ambassadors to Athens.

* Even by Demosthenes' testimony, it required the combination of several Athenian characters to match the various excellencies of Philip.

† *Rech. de falsa Legatione.*

CHAP.

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who cor-
rupt Æs-
chines.

who was careful to adorn their seats in the theatre, and to distinguish them by every other mark of honour*. Having been introduced, on the appointed day, into the assembly, they declared the object of their commission; to conclude in the name of their master a peace and alliance with the people of Athens. Demosthenes, in an elaborate speech, urged the expediency of listening to their demands; but without neglecting the interest of the Athenian allies. Æschines delivered the same opinion, and severely reproached Philocrates, who urged the necessity of precipitating the treaty. The two first days were spent in debate; but on the third, the influence of Philocrates prevailed, chiefly, if we believe Demosthenes, through the unexpected accession of Æschines to that party. He, who had hitherto been a strenuous defender of the interest of Kersobleptes, declared that he had now altered his opinion. That peace was necessary for Athens, and ought not to be retarded by the slow deliberations of other powers. That the circumstances of the republic were changed; and that, in their actual situation, it was an idle vanity to attend to those who flattered them with pompous panegyrics of the magnanimity of their ancestors; since the weakness of Athens was no longer called on to undertake the protection of every state that could not defend its own cause†.

During the
negotia-
tion Philip

Demosthenes had formerly suspected the treachery of Æschines; but this speech fully convinced him

* Æschines in Ctesiphont.

† Demosthenes de falsa Legatione.

that if his adversary had not before sold himself to CHAP. Philip, he had then been tampered with, and XXXV. gained by the Macedonian ambassadors. But Demosthenes, and the assembly in general, saw the necessity of immediately ratifying the peace with that prince, who had actually taken the field in Thrace, ^{continues to make conquests in Thrace.} along the coast of which the Athenians still possessed Serrium, Doriscus, and several other tributary cities. A decree was proposed for this purpose, and ambassadors were named, who might with all convenient speed, repair to Philip, in order mutually to give and receive the oaths and ratifications of the treaty just concluded at Athens. The ambassadors were Eubulus, Æschines, Ctesiphon, Democrates, and Cleon; the principal of whom, being entirely devoted to the Macedonian interest, contrived various pretences to delay their departure. In this interval, Kersobleptes met with the unhappy fate of which we have already taken notice; and Philip, encouraged by the success of his intrigues, ventured to attack the cities of Serrium and Doriscus, which readily submitted to his arms*. Upon intelligence of the latter event, the Athenians dispatched Euclides to inform the King of Macedon, that the places which he had taken belonged to Athens; to which he coldly replied, that he had not been so instructed by his ambassadors, nor was there any mention of those cities in the treaty recently signed, but not yet ratified, between the two powers.

Æschines and his colleagues still delayed to set out, although the conduct of Philip continually ^{Third embassy to Philip.}

* Demosthen. Orat. v. in Philipp.

CHAP. urged the necessity of hastening their departure,
 XXXV. They were finally ordered to be gone, in consequence of a decree proposed by Demosthenes*, who was unable to prevail on the Athenians, till it was too late, to pay due regard to the interest of Kersobleptes. In twenty-five days the Athenian ministers arrived at Pella, a journey which they might have performed in six; and instead of directly proceeding to Philip, who was employed in reducing the cities on the Propontis, they patiently waited, above three weeks, the return of that monarch to his capital. During their residence in Pella, they were joined by Demosthenes, who, at his own request, had been added to this commission, under pretence of ransoming some Athenian captives, but in reality with a view to watch the conduct of his colleagues. Philip at length arrived: the ambassadors were called to an audience. On this occasion they spoke not as formerly, according to their respective ages, but in an order, if we believe Æschines, first established by the imprudence of Demosthenes; whose discourse, as represented by his adversary, must have appeared highly ridiculous, even in an age when the decent formality of public transactions was little known or regarded.

Speech of
 Demosthe-
 nes ;

Anticipating his more experienced colleagues, he observed, "That they were unfortunately divided in their views and sentiments. That his own were strictly conformable to those of Philip. From the beginning he had advised a peace and alliance

* Demosth. de falsa Legatione.

with Macedon. That he had procured all possible honours for the ambassadors of that country during their residence in Athens, and had afterwards escorted their journey as far as Thebes. He knew that his good intentions had been misrepresented to Philip, on account of some expressions that had dropped from him in the Athenian assembly. But if he had denied the superior excellence of that prince in beauty, in drinking, and in debate*, it was that he believed such qualities to belong to a woman, a sponge, and a hireling rhetorician and sophist, rather than to a warlike monarch, and mighty conqueror." This extraordinary apology excited the derision of the Macedonian courtiers, and made the Athenian ambassadors hold down their heads in confusion†.

CHAP.
XXXV.

Æschines first recovered his composure; and modestly addressing Philip, observed, "That the present was not a proper occasion for the Athenian ministers to praise or defend their own conduct. They had been deemed worthy of their commission by the republic which employed them, and to which alone they were accountable‡. Their actual business was to receive Philip's oath in ratification of the treaty already concluded on the part of Athens. The military preparations carrying on in every part of Macedon could not but ex-

of Æschines.

* See above, p. 119.

† Æschines, *de falsa Legatione*.

‡ The speech of Æschines, as reported by himself, is inimitably graceful and dignified. *Αἰσχύνης τῆς ψευδοῦς Λεγάτου*, &c. Vid. p. 961, & seqq. edit. Wolf.

C H A P cite their fears for the unhappy Phocians. But he **XXIV.** intreated Philip, that, if he was determined to gratify the Thebans by making war on that unfortunate people, he would make at least a proper distinction between the innocent and the guilty. The sacrilegious violators of the temple ought to be punished with due severity; the state itself must be spared; since the laws and institutions of Greece guard the safety of every Amphietyonic city. Æschines then spoke, in the severest terms, against the injustice and cruelty of the Thebans, who, he ventured to prophesy, would repay the partiality of Philip with the same falsehood and ingratitude with which they had been accustomed to requite their former allies and benefactors."

Philip's
profound
dissimula-
tion.

The discourse of Æschines, though it could not be expected to move the resolution of the King, was well calculated to raise the credit of the speaker, when it should be reported in his own country. Philip confined himself to vague expressions of friendship and respect. The ambassadors of Thebes were already at Pella, a circumstance which furnished him with a pretence for declining to make an explicit declaration in favour of Phocis. But he hinted his compassionate concern for the Phocians; and requested the Athenians to accompany him to Thessaly, that he might avail himself of their abilities and experience to settle the affairs of that country, which required his immediate presence. Extraordinary as this demand was, the Athenians readily complied with it, notwithstanding the King, who had ordered his army to march, was

attended in this expedition by the ambassadors of Thebes, who as well as the Athenians, were daily entertained at his table, and whose views were diametrically opposite to the interests both of Phocis and of Athens*.

CHAP. XXXV.

The unhappy and distracted situation of the former republic promised a speedy issue to the Sacred War, which, for more than two years, had been feebly carried on between the Phocians on one side, and the Thebans and Locrians on the other, by such petty incursions and ravages, as indicated the inveterate rancour of combatants, who still retained the desire of hurting, after they had lost the power. During the greater part of that time, the Athenians, amused by their negotiation with Philip, afforded no assistance to their unfortunate allies. The treasures of Delphi, immense as they were, at length began to fail. The Phocians, thus abandoned and exhausted, reflected with terror and remorse on their past conduct; and, in order to make atonement for their sacrilegious violations of the temple, instituted a judicial inquiry against Phaleucus, their general, and his accomplices, in plundering the dedications to Apollo. Several were condemned to death; Phaleucus was deposed; and the Phocians, having performed these substantial acts of justice, which tended to remove the odium that had long adhered to their cause, solicited with better hopes of success the assistance of Sparta and Athens.

The Phocian war carried on with little activity on either side. Olymp. cviii. 2. A. C. 349.

The Phocians condemn the plunderers of the temple.

* Diodorus Siculus. *de falsis Legationibus*.

† *Idem*, l. xvi. p. 452.

† *Idem*, l. xvi. p. 452.

C. H. A. T.

XXXV

The Spartans claim the superintendence of the temple.

Phaleucus and his mercenaries seize Nicæa.

Disaster of the Phocians in the temple of Abæan Apollo.

But the crafty Archidamus, who had long directed the Spartan councils, considered the distress of the Phocians as a favourable opportunity to urge the claim of his own republic to the superintendence of the Delphic temple; and actually sent ambassadors into Thessaly, to confer with the King of Macedon on that subject*. The Athenians paid more attention to the request of their allies, who, as an inducement to excite their activity, offered to put them in possession of the towns of Nicæa, Alpenus, and Thronium, which commanded the straits of Thermopylæ. But this salutary plan, which might have retarded the fate of Greece, was defeated by Rineucus, who, commanding eight thousand mercenaries, that acknowledged no authority but that of their general, established his head-quarters at Nicæa, and despised the menaces both of Phocis and of Athens.

Justifying as this disappointment must have been, it was followed by a disaster in another quarter, far more afflictive. The Phocians had fortified the city of Abæa, to defend their northern frontier against the depredations of the Locrians. The Thebans reinforced by some auxiliaries of Macedon, marched against that place. The Phocians, with more courage than prudence, met them in the field, but were defeated with great slaughter, and pursued in their disordered flight, through the surrounding territory. A party of above five hundred took refuge in the temple of Abæan

* Demosthen. & Echîn. ubi supra.

Apollo, where they remained for several days, sleeping under the porticos, on beds of dried herbs, straw, and other combustible materials. An accidental fire, that began in the night, was communicated to the whole edifice, part of which was consumed, while the unhappy Phocians were stifled, or burnt to ashes*.

O.H.A.P.
XXXV.


The Thebans failed not to represent this calamity as a judgment of Heaven, against the daring impiety of wretches, who had ventured to take refuge in the temple of a god whom their sacrilege had long offended. They entreated Philip to assist them in destroying the remnant of the guilty race: This was the chief purpose of their embassy to that Prince whom the Athenians, as related above, entreated to spare the nation, while he punished the criminals; and the Lacedæmonians, regardless of the fate of Phocis, thought only of making good their ancient claim to the guardianship of the Delphic temple.

The Thebans instigate Philip to desolate Phocia.

Philip treated the deputies of the three republics with apparent frankness and cordiality, under the veil of which he knew so well to disguise the interests of his policy and ambition. He assured the Thebans, that his arms should be employed to recover for them the towns of Orchomenus, Coronea, and Tisphusium, which, ever ready to rebel against a tyrannical capital, had readily revolted to the Phocians during their invasion of Boeotia. The Phocians, he said, had rendered

Philip attempts in vain to corrupt the Theban ambassadors.

* Diodorus, p. 444.

C H A P.

XXIV



themselves the objects of divine displeasure; it would be as meritorious to punish, as it was impious to protect them. He was determined that both they and their allies should suffer those calamities which their crimes so justly deserved. Thus far Philip was sincere; for, in these particulars, the views of Thebes were exactly conformable to his own. But, in his mind he agitated other matters, in which the interest of Thebes interfered with that of Macedon. To accomplish these purposes, without offending his allies, it was necessary to gain the ambassadors. Careless, flattery, and promises, were lavished in vain. Money was at length tendered with a profuse liberality; but, though no man ever possessed more address than Philip in rendering his bribes acceptable, the Theban deputies remained honest and uncorrupted, firmly maintaining to the end their patriotism and their honour. Philon, the chief of the embassy, answered for his colleagues: "We are already persuaded of your friendship for us, independent of your presents. Reserve your generosity for our country, on which it will be more profitably bestowed, since your favours conferred on Thebes will even excite the gratitude both of that republic and its ministers."

Philip corrupts and deceives the Athenian ambassadors.

Demosthenes extols the dignity of this reply as becoming rather the Ambassadors of Athens. But these ministers, though one object of their commission was to save the Grecian state which the

Demosthenes de fides Legationis, in p. 111.

Thebans wished to destroy; discovered neither integrity nor spirit. All of them, but Demosthenes himself, accepted the presents of the King of Macedonia, who found little difficulty in persuading men, thus prepossessed in his favour; that he pitied the Phocians; that he respected Athens; that he detested the insolence of Thebes; and that, should he ever proceed to the straits of Thermopylæ, his expedition would be more dangerous to that state than to its enemies. At present however he observed, that he had private reasons for managing the friendship of a people who set no bounds to their resentment. From such motives he had hitherto declined ratifying the peace with Athens; but this measure he could no longer defer. He only entreated, that to save appearances with the Thebans, the name of the Phocians might be omitted in the treaty. The arduous work was at length brought to a conclusion; and for the more secrecy, transacted in a place which Demosthenes calls a tavern, adjoining to the temple of Pollux, in the neighbourhood of Phæræ. The Athenian ambassadors took leave, affecting to be persuaded (perhaps persuaded in reality) of the good intentions of the King of Macedonia. About the same time the ambassadors of Sparta departed, but with far less satisfaction. They either perceived, from the beginning, the artifices of the prince with whom they came to treat, or at least made such a report to Archidamus, as convinced him that his republic had not any advantage to expect from the preponderance of the Macedonian in-

CH. A. P. interest, and the destruction of the Phocians; and
 XXV. that should the Spartans persist in their claim to
 the superintendence of the Delphic temple, they
 must prepare to assert it by force of arms.

Philip's
 flattering
 letter to
 the Athe-
 nians.

Archidamus raised an army for this purpose, and
 marched towards the straits. But the intrigues of
 Philip, as we shall have occasion to relate, rendered
 his hostility as impotent as his negotiations had
 been fruitless. From Thessaly that prince had al-
 ready sent a letter to the Athenians, couched in the
 most artful terms. He expressed his profound re-
 spect for the state, and his high esteem for its am-
 bassadors, declaring that he should omit no op-
 portunity of proving how earnestly he desired to
 promote the prosperity and glory of Athens. He
 requested that the means might be pointed out to
 him, by which he could most effectually gratify
 the people. Of the conditions of the peace and
 alliance he was careful to make no mention; but
 after many other general declarations of his good
 will, he entreated them "not to be offended at
 his detaining their ambassadors; of whose eloquence
 and abilities he wished to avail himself in settling
 the affairs of Thessaly.*"

Æschines
 gives an ac-
 count of
 the embas-
 sy to the
 Athenian
 assembly.

Soon afterwards these ambassadors returned home;
 and having given an account of their negotiation
 to the senate of Five Hundred, with very little
 satisfaction to that select body, they next appear-
 ed before the popular assembly. Æschines first
 mounted the rostrum, and in an elaborate and artful

speech, he represented the conduct of Philip as unwarrantable and unjust. He then proposed that the ambassadors should be rewarded for their services, and that the state should contribute towards the expenses of their journey.

discourse, set forth the advantages resulting from his successful embassy, in which he had persuaded Philip to embrace precisely those measures which the interest of Athens required. That, now, the people had peace instead of war, and that, without harassing themselves by military expeditions, they had only to remain quietly at home, enjoying the amusements of the city, and in a few days they would learn that Philip had passed Thermopylae, to take vengeance, not on the Phocians, but on the Thebans, who had been the real authors of the war, and who, having entertained a design of seizing the temple, were not the less culpable (as had been proved to Philip) because they had failed in this impious purpose. That the Boeotian allies of Thebes and Plataea, whose hatred to Thebes was as inveterate as their attachment to Athens was sincere, would be restored to their pristine strength and splendour. That the Thebans, not the Phocians, would be compelled to pay the fine imposed by the Amphictyonic council, and to repair the fatal effects of sacrilege and profanation. That the magistrates of Thebes foresaw the hostility of Philip, and well knew by whom it had been excited. "They have therefore," said Æschines, "devoted me to destruction, and actually set a price upon my head. The people of Eubœa are equally alarmed by our accommodation with Philip, not doubting that their island will be restored to us as an equivalent for Amphipolis. Nor are these the only advantages of the treaty: another point of still higher importance, a point of the

CHAP. most intimate concern to the public, has been secured. But of this I shall speak at another time, since at present I perceive the envy and malignity of certain persons ready to break forth." The advantage hinted at, with such significant obscurity, was the recovery of Oropus, a considerable city on the Athenian frontier which had been long subject to Thebes.

The suspicions of Demosthenes ridiculed by his colleagues.

This specious harangue, so flattering to the indolence and vain hopes of the multitude, was received with general approbation, notwithstanding the opposition of Demosthenes, who declared that he knew nothing of all those great advantages promised by his colleague; and that he did not expect them. Æschines and Philocrates heard him with the supercilious contempt of men in possession of a secret with which he was unacquainted. But when he endeavoured to continue his discourse, and to expose their artifice and insincerity, all was clamour, indignation, and insult. Æschines bade him remember, not to claim any share of the rewards due to the important services of his colleagues. Philocrates, with an air of pleasantry, said, it was no wonder that the hopes of Demosthenes were less sanguine than his own, "since he drinks water; I wine." This insipid jest was received with loud bursts of laughter and applause, which prevented the assembly from attending to the spirited remonstrances of Demosthenes. A motion was made, and agreed to, for thanking Philip for his equitable and friendly intentions, as well as for ratifying a perpetual peace and alliance between

Athens, and Macedon. In the same decree it was C H A P. XXXV. determined that the Phocians should submit to the Amphictyonic council, under pain of incurring the displeasure of the republic.*

These articles, together with the secret motives The success of Philip's artifices with the Athenians deceives the Phocian ambassadors at Athens; which produced them, were, by the emissaries of Philip, immediately communicated to the Phocian ambassadors then residing at Athens; who, transported with joy at the prospect of averting the calamities which long threatened their country, lost no time in transmitting the agreeable intelligence to their fellow-citizens. They concluded, with a high degree of probability, that, however Philip might deceive the Phocians, the ministers of Athens could never be so bold as publicly to deceive the Athenians; and that, therefore, they could no longer entertain any reasonable doubt of the favourable disposition of the King of Macedon. This which makes the Phocians reject the assistance of Sparta belief was so firmly established, that when Archdamus marched into Phocis at the head of an army in order to defend the temple against Philip, the Phocians rejected his assistance, observing, that they feared for Sparta much more than for themselves; upon which the Lacedæmonians returned into Peloponnesus.

Philip was now prepared for executing his grand enterprise. Halus, long besieged, had submitted to the united arms of Parmenio and his own. Fresh troops had arrived from Macedon. The Athenians were appeased; the Lacedæmonians had Philip negotiates with Phœleucus the cession of Nicæa.

Démotthen. de falsa Legatione. Ibid.

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CHAP retired; the Phocians were imposed on; the
 XXXV. Thessalians, Thebans and Locrians, were ready
 to follow his standard. One obstacle only remained, and that easy to be surmounted. Phaleucus, who commanded eight thousand mercenaries, still kept possession of Nicæa. But a man who had betrayed the interest of his own republic, could not be very obstinate in defending the cause of Greece. Philip entered into a negotiation with him, in order to get possession of Nicæa*, without which it would have been impossible to pass the Thermopylæ; and while this transaction was going forward, wrote repeated letters to the Athenians, full of cordiality and affection.

Philip
 continues
 to veil his
 designs in
 obscurity.

He suspected the dangerous capriciousness of a people, whose security might yet be alarmed; and whose opposition might still prove fatal to his designs, should they either march forth to the straits, or command their admiral Proxenus, who was stationed in the Opuntian gulph, between Locris and Eubœa, to intercept the Macedonian convoys; for, the frontiers both of Phocis and Thessaly having long lain waste in consequence of the sacred war, Philip received his provisions chiefly by sea. The seasonable professions of friendship, contained in the King's letters, not only kept the Athenians from listening to the remonstrances of Demosthenes, but prevailed on them to send northward that orator, together with Æschines, and several others, whose advice had assistance Philip affected to desire in settling the arduous business in which he was engaged. De-

* Biedor. l. xvi. p. 455.¹

demosthenes saw through the artifice of his enemies, CHAP. XXXV. for withdrawing him, at this important crisis, from his duty in the assembly; he therefore absolutely refused the commission. Æschines, on pretence of sickness, staid at home to watch and counteract the measures of his rival. The other ambassadors departed, in compliance with the request of Philip, and the orders of their republic, and in hopes of seeing a treaty fulfilled, which, they had been taught to believe, would be attended with consequences equally advantageous and honourable*.

While the ambassadors travelled through Eubœa, in their way to join the King of Macedon, they learned, to their utter astonishment, the wonderful events that had been transacted. Phaleucus had been persuaded to evacuate Nicœa. He retired towards Peloponnesus, and embarked at Corinth, with a view to sail to Italy, where he expected to form an establishment. But the capricious and ungovernable temper of his followers compelled him to make a descent on the coast of Elis. After this they re-embarked, and sailed to Crete, where their invasion proved fatal to their general. Having returned to the Peloponnesus, they were defeated by the Elians and Arcadians. The greater part of those who survived the battle fell into the hands of the enemy, by whom they were shot with arrows or precipitated from rocks. a feeble remnant escaped to their ships, but perished soon afterwards in an insurrection which

Disasters of Phaleucus and his followers.

* Demosthen. de falsa Legatione.

CHAP. they had excited, or fomented, in the isle of Sicily.

XXXV. The destruction of this numerous body of men is ascribed by ancient historians* to the divine vengeance which pursued their sacrilege and impiety. It is astonishing that those superstitious writers did not reflect on the swifter and more terrible destruction that overtook the whole Phocian nation, by whom the wickedness of Phaleucus and his followers had been so recently condemned; and by whom, had not power been wanting, it would have been punished with an exemplary rigour.

Cruel decree of the Amphictyons against Phocis;

Philip having passed the straits of Thermopylae, was received by the Phocians as their deliverer. He had promised to plead their cause before the Amphictyonic council, to the decisions of which that credulous people consented to submit, well knowing that a prince who entered Greece at the head of a numerous army might easily control the resolutions of the Amphictyons, and fondly believing that prince to be their friend. The deputies of Athens had not yet arrived; those of the southern republics had not even been summoned. The Locrians, Thebans, and Thessalians, alone composed the assembly that was to decide the fate of Phocis; a country which they had persecuted with relentless hostility in a war of ten years. The sentence was such as might be expected from the cruel resentment of the judges. It was decreed that the Phocians should be excluded from the general confederacy of Greece, and for ever deprived of the right to send representatives to the

* Diodorus, l. xvi. c. 23. gives this as the general opinion.

council of Amphictyons: that their arms and horses should be sold for the benefit of Apollo; that they should be allowed to keep possession of their lands, but compelled to pay annually from their produce the value of sixty thousand talents, till they had completely indemnified the temple; that their cities should be dismantled, and reduced to distinct villages, containing no more than sixty houses each, at the distance of a furlong from each other; and that the Corinthians, who had recently given them some assistance, should therefore be deprived of the presidency at the Pythian games; which important prerogative, together with the superintendence of the temple of Delphi, as well as the right of suffrage in the Amphictyonic council, lost by the Phocians should thenceforth be transferred to the King of Macedon. It was decreed that the Amphictyons, having made effectual these regulations, should next proceed to procure all due repairs and expiations to the temple, and should exert their wisdom and their power to establish, on a solid foundation, the tranquillity and happiness of Greece*.

This extraordinary decree, when communicated to the Phocians, filled that miserable people with such terror and dismay, as rendered them totally incapable of acting with vigour or with union. They took not any common measures for repelling the invader; a few cities only, more daring than the rest, endeavoured, with unequal strength, to defend their walls, their temples, and the revered

which is
cruelly
executed
by the
Macedo-
nians.
Olymp.
cvi. 2.
A. C. 347.

* Biond. xvi. c. lxx. & seqq.

C H A P. tombs of their ancestors. Their feeble resistance
 XXXV. was soon overcome; all opposition ceased, and the
 Macedonians proceeded to execute the will of the
 Amphictyonic council with inflexible cruelty, and
 with such undisturbed order and silence as seemed
 more dreadful than the tumultuary ravages of the
 fiercest war. Without dropping a tear, or heaving
 a sigh, since the smallest mark of regret was con-
 strued into an obstinacy of guilt, the wretched
 Phocians beheld the destruction of their ancient
 monuments and trophies, their proud walls levelled
 with the ground, the fertile banks of the divine
 Cephissus covered with ruin and desolation, and
 the venerable cities of Daulis, Penopeus, Lilæa
 and Hyampolis, which had flourished above nine
 centuries in splendour and prosperity, and which
 will ever flourish in the song of Homer, so totally
 burned or demolished as scarcely to leave a vestige
 of their existence*. After this terrible havoc of
 whatever they possessed most valuable and re-
 spected, the inhabitants were driven like herds of
 cattle to the settlements allotted for them, and
 compelled to cultivate their paternal fields for the
 benefit of merciless and unthankful masters. At the
 distance of three years, travellers, who passed
 through Phocis to visit the temple of Delphi,
 melted with compassion, or shuddered with horror,
 at the sight of such piteous and unexampled de-
 vastation. They turned their reluctant eyes from
 the shattered ruins of a country and a people once
 so illustrious; the youth and men of full age,

* Pausanias in Phocia & Diodorus, l. xvi. c. lix & seqq.

had either perished in the war, or been dragged into captivity; the populous cities were no more; and the villages were thinly inhabited by women, children and wretched old men, whose silent but emphatic expressions of deep-rooted misery exceeded all power of words to describe*.

The unexpected news of these melancholy events reached Athens in five days. The people were then assembled in the Piræus to examine the state of their harbours and shipping. The dreadful intelligence filled them with consternation. They imagined that they already beheld the destructive armies of Macedon and Thessaly, excited by the inveterate hostility of Thebes, pouring in upon their northern frontier, and overwhelming the whole country with havoc and desolation. A decree immediately passed, at the motion of Callisthenes; which marked the utmost danger and dismay. It was resolved, "that the Athenians, who usually resided in the country, should be summoned to the defence of the city; that those, within the distance of twelve miles round, should, along with their persons, transport their most valuable effects into the city or the Piræus; that those, at a greater distance, should respectively convey themselves and their property to the nearest fortresses, particularly Eleusis, Phylé, Aphidna, Sunium, the principal places of strength in the Attic territory."†

The news of these events produce consternation in Athens.

This decree shews, that terror was the first movement of the Athenians; but vengeance was

Philip writes the Athenians.

* Demosthen. & Eschin. de falsa Legat. & de Coras.

† Demosthen. de falsa Legat. sect. 20.

CHAP. the second. Reluctantly cooped up within their
 XXXV. walls they called aloud for arms; devices were pre-
 pared for the relief of Phocis; and their admiral
 Proxenus, who had lately returned from the neigh-
 bouring coast, was ordered again to direct his course
 towards that country. The king of Macedonia was
 duly attentive to those transactions, of which he had
 been regularly informed by his emissaries. He
 therefore wrote a letter to the Athenians, in that
 style of superiority which the success of his policy
 and of his arms justly entitled him to assume.
 After acquainting them with his treatment of the
 Phocians, he mentions his being informed of their
 preparations for supporting that impious people,
 who were not included in the treaty of peace re-
 cently signed and ratified between Athens and
 Macedon. He exhorts them to lay aside this un-
 warrantable design, which could have no other
 effect than to shew the iniquity and extravagance
 of their conduct, in arming against a Prince, with
 whom they had so lately concluded an alliance.
 "But if you persist, know that we are prepared
 for repelling your hostilities with vigour."

The Athe-
 nians pass
 a decree
 for re-
 ceiving the
 fugitive
 Phocians.

This mortifying letter was received at the same
 time that the Athenian ambassadors returned from
 Eubœa, and brought such accounts of the destruc-
 tion of the Phocians, that it appeared scarcely pos-
 sible to afford them any relief. All that remained,
 was, to save, from the cruel vengeance of their
 enemies, the miserable wreck of that unfortu-

late community. The Athenians passed a decree for receiving the fugitives with kindness, and for providing them with settlements in Attica, or in the foreign dependencies of the republic; a resolution which, though it was founded on the most evident duties of gratitude and humanity towards ancient and faithful allies, gave great offence to the inexorable wrath of the Thessalians and Thebans.

QUAR.
XXXV.

At this time, during these transactions, the Macedonian partisans, and especially Æschines and Philocrates, whose vain assurances had been attended with such fatal effects, had just cause to dread the resentment of their country. The former, who had been the principal agent in this disgraceful scene of intrigue and delusion, no longer affected sickness; he forgot the threatenings denounced against him by Thebes; he disregarded the Athenian decree, prohibiting any citizen to stir from the walls; and having waited for, and beheld the destruction of the Phocians with as much indifference, if we may believe his adversary, as he would have seen the conclusion of any ordinary affair, which concerned merely his pecuniary interest, he repaired to Philip to receive the wages of his iniquity. Æschines accounts for his journey at this time by a more honourable but less probable cause, the desire of saving the feeble and unhappy remnant of the Phocian nation, who were persecuted to extremity by

Philip protects the Phocians against the inhuman vengeance of their Grecian foes;

* Demosthen. & Æschin. de falsa Legat. sect. 30.

CHAP. the barbarous vengeance of their 'Grecian' foes,
 XXXV. and protected, at the intercession of the Athenian
 orator, by the clemency or compassion of the Macedonians. There is reason to believe that *Æchines*, in order to gain merit with his countrymen, whose resentment he had so highly provoked, opposed an inhuman resolution of precipitating from rocks all those of the Phocians who had attained the age of puberty. But the King of Macedon, whose character was not naturally flagitious, or cruel without necessity, must, of his own accord, have been inclined to avert such an atrocious and bloody sentence, which would have ruined his fame, without promoting his interest.

and the
 Bœotians
 against the
 cruelty of
 Thebes.

This conclusion appears the more probable, since, we are assured, that, upon the same principle, but with far less success, he assumed the protection of the oppressed Bœotians. *Orchometus*, *Cotronæa*, *Hyampolis*, with other cities of less note in Bœotia, were, in consequence of the ruin of their Phocian allies, again subjected to the dominion of Thebes; a republic, always haughty and unrelenting, whose magistrates on this occasion prepared to treat the rebels with more than usual severity. Philip espoused the cause of the injured with a generous ardour, extremely disagreeable to the Thebans. His humanity, whether real or affected, was loudly extolled by his partisans in most republics of Greece. It redounded, however, more to his own glory, than to the benefit of the afflicted Bœotians; who, being expelled from their

own country by the intolerable oppression of Theban tyranny, sought refuge in the compassionate bosom of Athens*.

CHAP.
XXXV.

Macedon declared by the Amphictyons a member of the Hellenic body. Olymp. cviii. 3. A. C. 346.

Having finished the sacred war, in a manner so favourable to his own interest and ambition, Philip convened the members of the Amphictyonic council, to the number of two hundred, and assisted in the hymns, prayers, and sacrifices, offered to Apollo, in acknowledgement of his divine protection of their councils and arms. The name of the pious King of Macedon, who had been the principal instrument of their success, resounded in the sacred Poems, sung in honour of the God. The Amphictyons ratified all the transactions of that prince, erected his statue in the temple of Delphi, and acknowledged, by a solemn decree, the kingdom of Macedon as the principal member of the Hellenic body†. Philip, at the same time appointed deputies to preside at the Pythian games, the celebration of which was nearly approaching, and to which most of the Grecian states had already sent their representatives. The Athenians, stung with indignation and regret, abstained from this festival. An embassy was therefore dispatched to them in the name of the Amphictyons, requiring their concurrence with measures recently embraced by the general council of Greece; and remonstrating against their displeasure at the aggrandisement of a prince with whom they had so lately contracted an alliance.

* Demosthenes & Aeschines, de falsa Legat. sect. 20.

† Diodor. l. xvi. p. 60.

CHAP.

XXXV.

Even the
Athenians
admit this
pretension.

The deliberations of the Athenian assembly, on this occasion, shewed the full extent of their folly, and evinced the consummate policy of Philip. They acknowledged, with dejection and anguish, that they had neglected the many opportunities presented them by the favour of Heaven, for suppressing the ambition of their rival: that the time of acting with vigour and boldness was now no more; that the cause of Greece was an empty name, since the Greeks surrendered their dignity to the King of Macedon; and that it became their own republic to consult rather its safety than its honour, and to maintain peace with a monarch against whom they were by no means prepared to wage war. Even Demosthenes* recommended this resolution; lest, says he, we should offend those now assembled, who call themselves the Amphictyons, and thus excite a general war against ourselves. The Thebans, beside ancient causes of quarrel with us, are incensed at our harbouring their exiles; the Locrians and Thessalians, resent our protecting the Phocians; the Argives, the Messenians and Megalopolitans, are displeased at our concurring with the views of Lacedæmon. If we refuse the demands of Philip and the Amphictyons, they may assault us with the combined arms of all those states, which we are totally unable to resist. One point, therefore, is necessary, the continuance of the present peace; not that it is so very excellent, or so worthy of you; but, of what kind soever it may be, it were more for the interest of

* Demosthen. de Pace.

your affairs, that it never had been concluded, than CHAP.
that now, when it is concluded, you should infringe XXXV.
it. This opinion was universally approved: Ma-
cedon was acknowledged a member of the Grecian
confederacy; and Isocrates, an Athenian of the
highest merit and reputation, addressed a discourse
to Philip, in which he exhorted him to disdain in-
glorious victories over his countrymen and friends;
to employ his authority to extinguish forever the
animosities of Greece, and to direct the united ef-
forts of that country, of which Macedon now form-
ed a part, against the wealth and effeminacy of
Persia, its ancient and natural enemy.

Whether these exhortations proceeded from the
virtuous simplicity which did not suspect, or from
the insinuating and artful policy which, though it
suspected, hoped to avert, the hostile projects of
Macedon, the measures of Philip were, doubtless
taken with too much care, and his plans founded
too deep and firm, to be shaken by the specious
eloquence of a rhetorician. He had long meditated
the invasion of Asia: the conquest of the Persian
empire was an object that might well tempt his am-
bition; but neither his own passions, nor the argu-
ments of other men, could hasten, retard, or vary
his undeviating progress in a system which could
only be completed by consolidating his empire,
before he attempted new conquests.

* Isocrat. Orat. Philipp.

† See the life of Isocrates, prefixed to my translation of his works.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Foundation of Philippopolis and Cabyla.—Philip's Expedition to Illyria.—Alexander receives the Persian Ambassadors.—Affairs of Greece.—Demosthenes unmasks the Designs of Philip's Expeditions to the Peloponnesus—to Epirus—to Thrace.—Diopelthes opposes him with Vigour.—The Athenians recover Eubœa.—Siege of Perinthus.—Philip's Letter to the Athenians.—Expeditions of Chares—of Phocion—who retrieves the Athenian Affairs in Thrace.—Philip's Scythian Expedition.—The Incendiary Antiphon.—Philip's Intrigues embroil the Affairs of Greece.—The third Sacred War.—Philip General of the Amphictyons.—Confederacy against that Prince.—He seizes Elataea.—Battle of Charonæa.—His Moderation in Victory.—Demosthenes' Oration in Honour of the Slain.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Philip
evacuates
Greece;
Olymp.
cvi. 4.
A. C. 345.

FROM his intrigues, Philip had derived more important advantages, than he could have gained by a long series of victories. The conquest of Greece was his object; he had taken many preliminary measures towards effecting this purpose: while his conduct, so far from exciting the jealousy of those fierce republics, acquired their admiration and gratitude. Instead of rousing the dangerous resentment of states which he was ambitious to

subdue, Philip disarmed the hostility of Athens, CHAP. XXXVI. and threatened with the vengeance of combined Greece, the only republic that appeared forward to obstruct his designs. It seemed high time, therefore, to withdraw his army; to set bounds, for the present, to his own triumphs; nor to attempt, with danger, effecting by premature force, what might be safely accomplished by seasonable policy. Before evacuating Greece, he took care to place a strong garrison in Nicæa, which might thenceforth secure his free passage through the straits of Thermopylæ. Macedonian troops occupied the principal cities of Thessaly, and the strongest posts of Phocis. He conducted with him into Macedon eleven thousand Phocian captives; an acquisition which he regarded as not the least valuable fruits of his success; and of which, on his return home, he determined immediately to avail himself.

The warlike tribes of Thrace, though often vanquished, had never been thoroughly subdued. In order to bridle the dangerous fury of those northern barbarians, Philip built two cities, Philippopolis and Cabyla*, the first at the western extremity of the country, on the confines of mount Rhodope, the second towards the east, at the foot of mount Hæmus, about an hundred and fifty miles distant from each other, and almost equally remote from the Macedonian capital. The Phocian captives, blended with a due proportion of

founds
Philippo-
polis and
Cabyla;

* Strabo, l. vii. p. 118.

CHAP. XXXVI. Macedonian subjects, well provided with arms for their defence, were sent to people and cultivate those new settlements, whose flourishing conditions soon exceeded the expectation of their founder. At the same time, Philip planted a colony in the isle of Thasos, which had formerly belonged to the Athenians; but that people having already lost possession of the gold mines at Philippi, on the neighbouring coast of Thrace, seemed now so indifferent about the possession of Thasos, that their transports were employed in conveying the Macedonians thither*.

His expedition to Illyria. Olymp. six 1. A. C. 344.

In such occupations, chiefly, Philip employed the first year of the peace, not neglecting to complete the ornaments of his capital; for which purpose he borrowed, as formerly, large sums of money from the richest citizens of Greece. The year following, he made an expedition into Illyria, and, at the expense of that country, extended his dominions from the lake Lychnidus to the Ionian sea. This district, about sixty miles in breadth, was barbarous and uncultivated, but contained valuable salt-mines, which had occasioned a bloody war between two neighbouring tribes. While Philip was absent in Illyria, an embassy arrived from Ochus, King of Persia, who, alarmed by the magnificent reports of the growing greatness of Macedonia, sent the most trusty of his ministers, that under pretence of offering to Philip the friendship and alliance of the Great King, they might examine

* Demosth. de Halonesso.

with their own eyes the strength and resources of a monarch, which were represented as so formidable. CHAP. XXXVI.

In the absence of his father, the young Alexander did the honours of the court; and it is said, that, during an entertainment given to the Persian ambassadors, the prince, who had not yet reached his twelfth year, discovered such manly and premature wisdom, as already announced the dawn of a very extraordinary character*. Among other questions, that could not have been expected from his age, he inquired into the nature of the Persian government, and art of war; the genius and disposition of the reigning sovereign; the distance of his capital from the coast, and the difficulty of the intervening roads†. Such inquiries, whatever talents they announced in the young prince, seem to prove that the conquest of Persia had been a frequent subject of conversation between Alexander and his instructors; and that an unbounded ambition had already taken possession of his youthful mind. The ambassadors heard him with astonishment, and exclaimed with that freedom which so

* Plutarch (in Alexand.) expresses himself strongly on this subject: "οἱ τε, αὖτε, (the ambassadors) θαυμάζοντες, καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, θαυμάσιον ἰδόντες, ἔμελλον ὑποβαλεῖν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἰσχυρὴν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείαν." Read *μεγαλοπρεπείαν*, and then the sentence may be literally explained: "so the ambassadors wondered; and I thought nothing of the talents of Philip, compared with the spirit and magnanimity of his son." I recollect not having met with *μεγαλοπρεπείαν* in the writers of the classic age; but it is a good word to mark the character of a person "who busies himself about great objects."

† Plut. in Alexand.

67 H A P.
 XXXVI.

Philip's
transac-
tions in
Thessaly,
Eubœa,
and Mc-
gara.
Olymp.
oix. l.
A. C. 344.

wonderfully distinguishes the public transactions of ancient, from those of modern times, and Ours is rich and powerful, but this will be truly a wise and great King."

Philip had no sooner returned from Illyria, than he made an excursion to Thessaly, and finally settled the affairs of that distracted country; having taken on himself the whole management of the revenue, and having divided the territory into four separate governments, in order to weaken the force of opposition, and to render the whole province more patient and submissive under the domination of Macedonia. While Philip was thus employed in Thessaly, his agents were not less active in confirming the Macedonian authority in the island of Euboea. Nor was he satisfied with securing his former acquisitions; he aspired at new conquests. The barren and rocky territory of Megara, divided by an extent of only ten miles, the frontier of Boeotia from the isthmus of Corinth. The industrious and frugal simplicity of this little republic could not defend its virtue against the corrupt influence of the Macedonians. Philip gained a party at Megara, which he cultivated with peculiar care; because, being already master of

I have had a little freedom with the words of Plutarch, viz. *ἡ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἡγεμονία ἐστὶν ἀντιπροσώπων*. Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortuna Alexand.

& Demosth. Philipp. iii. In Philipp. iii. Demosth. speaks as if Philip had made some open attempt against Megara, in which he had failed: (scil. ἐπειδή οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇ Μεγάρῃ ἐπέτυχεν, p. 54.

Bœotia, Phœcia, and Thessaly, the narrow territory of the Megarians formed the chief obstacle to his free passage into the Peloponnesus, the affairs of which, at this juncture, particularly attracted his regard.

C. H. A. P.
XXXV.

The Lacedæmonians, repulsed by Philip, whom they had condescended to solicit, rejected by the Phœcians, whom they offered to assist, and having lost all hopes of obtaining the guardianship of the Delphic temple, totally deserted a scene of action, in which they could expect neither profit nor honour, and confined their politics and their arms within the narrow circle of their own peninsula. For almost two years, Archidamus had laboured with undivided attention, and with his usual address and activity, to extend the pretensions and the power of Sparta over the territories of Messenæ, Argos, and Arcadia. His measures, planned with prudence, and conducted with vigour, were attended with success, though the inhabitants of the dependent provinces bore with much regret and indignation the yoke of a republic which they had formerly spurned as oppressive and intolerable. Their murmurs and discontents were inflamed into hostility by the Thebans, eternal enemies to Sparta, and at that time closely allied with the King of Macedon. To this monarch the Thebans applied, requesting him not to permit the destruction of their confederates in the Peloponnesus. The intrigues and money of Philip had already gained him a considerable influence in that country,

Philip prepares to protect the inferior communities of the Peloponnesus against the oppressions of Sparta.

CHAPTER XXXVI which he was glad of as an opportunity to augment
 To justify his proceedings for this purpose he
 procured a decree of the Amphictyodic council,
 requiring him to check the insolence of Sparta,
 and to protect the defenceless communities which
 had so often been the victims of her tyranny and
 cruelty. Encouraged by this resolution of the Am-
 phictyons, and impelled by his own ambition, Philip
 sent troops and money into the Peloponnese, and
 prepared to march thither in person, at the head of
 a powerful army*.

The Co-
 rinthians
 prepare to
 interrupt
 his march.

These transactions excited new commotions and
 alarms throughout most countries of Greece. The
 Corinthians†, jealous of the power of a prince,
 who, at the close of the Phocian war, deprived
 them of their ancient prerogatives and honours,
 and who, still more recently, had taken possession
 of Leucas, a city in Acarnania, and of Aetolia
 in Epirus, both colonies of Corinth, determined
 to oppose his passage into the Peloponnese.
 Weapons and defensive armour were provided,
 the walls and fortifications were repaired, mer-
 cenary troops were levied, the citizens exercised in
 arms, the whole republic glowed with the ardour of
 military preparation; insomuch that Diogenes the
 Cynic, who lost no opportunity to deride the follies
 of his contemporaries, beholding with just con-
 tempt the hurry and vain bustle of the effeminate
 Corinthians, that seemed so ill calculated to con-
 tend with the active vigour of Philip, began to

* Demosth. de Pace.

† Lucian de Conscribend. Hist.

ask about his tub*, lest he should be the only person unemployed in so busy a city.

CHAP.
XXXVI.

The Lacedæmonians, meanwhile, not less alarmed, but always better prepared for war, so limited the assistance of Athens. . . The latter state had received a considerable accession of strength, as well as of just honour and respect, from its hospitable reception of the distressed exiles from Phocis and Boeotia. It derived new consideration and lustre from the general congress of ambassadors from Sparta, Thebes, Macedon, Argos, Messenæ, and Arcadia, who, after a long interval of time, again condescended to assert their respective claims before the Athenian assembly. The Lacedæmonians represented the league, formed against themselves, as alike dangerous to Athens and to Sparta; that the ambition of Philip would not rest satisfied with a partial conquest; his imagination already grasped the dominion of Greece; and now was the only time for the two leading republics, who had ever mutually assisted each other in seasons of calamity, to make a firm stand, and to exert their utmost vigour in defence of their own and the public safety, so shamefully abandoned by the Thebans, and by the mob of Peloponnesus. The Thebans joined with the ministers of Philip in exhorting the Athenians to adhere strictly to

Negocia-
tions in
Athens.

* Auct. apud Brucker, in Vit. Diogen. He has collected all that is written for and against the tub of Diogenes. Were authors less explicit, the favourable habitation of this philosopher, would be sufficiently attested by ancient monuments. See Winckelman, d'Hancarville, &c.

† Οὐρακ Πινερωμενη. Liberal in Archid.

CH. AP. their treaty of peace recently concluded with that
 XXVI. prince; they endeavoured, by art and sophistry to
 varnish over to palliate such deeds of fraud or violence
 as could not be altogether denied; and laboured
 with the utmost assiduity to separate the views and
 interests of Athens and Lacedæmon on this im-
 portant emergency. The ambassadors of the in-
 ferior states of Peloponnesus loudly complained
 that the Athenians, who affected to be the patrons
 of liberty, should favour the views of Sparta, which
 had so long been the scourge of Greece. (They)
 represented this conduct as not only unjust and
 cruel, but contradictory and absurd; and used
 many plausible arguments to deter the people of
 Athens, who still strenuously asserted the freedom
 of Boeotia, from taking such a part in the present
 quarrel as might tend to rivet the chains of Peloponnesus.

Artful re-
 presenta-
 tions of the
 Macedo-
 nian par-
 tisans in
 Athens.

The Athenian orators, many of them creatures
 of Philip, charged their countrymen not to break
 hastily with a prince with whom they had so re-
 cently concluded an alliance, nor imprudently re-
 new a bloody and destructive war, out of which
 they had been lately extricated with so much dif-
 ficulty. They observed, that although the mea-
 sures of Philip, since the conclusion of the peace,
 had indeed been more agreeable to the Thebans
 than to the Athenians, he had considered himself
 as bound in justice to chastise the sacrilege of the
 Phocians. Nor was he altogether at liberty to
 follow his own inclinations; surrounded by the
 Thessalian cavalry and the Theban infantry, he

was compelled to treat the enemies of those states with a severity which his own feelings disapproved; But the time had arrived, when he might act with more independence and dignity; and that, could any credit be given to report, he was already preparing to rebuild the ruined cities of Phœcia, and to fortify Elatea, on the frontier of that territory, by which means he might thenceforth restrain and bridle the insolent cruelty of Thebes. These observations, however improbable, received great force from the peaceful, or rather indolent disposition of the people, who, though they heard with pleasure those who magnified their ancient grandeur, and inveighed against the injustice and ambition of Philip, were averse to employ either their money, or their personal service, in such active measures as could alone set bounds to the Macedonian encroachments.

Demosthenes, last, arose, and pronounced a discourse, which the King of Macedon is said to have read with a mixture of terror and admiration. When you bear described, men of Athens! the continual hostilities by which Philip violates the peace, I observe that you approve the equity and patriotism of those who support the rights of the republic; but while nothing is done, on account of which it is worth while to listen to such speeches, our affairs are brought to such a pass, that the more clearly we convict Philip of perversity towards you, and of hostile designs against
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Answered by Demosthenes.
501. (174) Plut. in vit. Demostil. in lib. de Bee. Orator. : : : I

CHAP. Greece, the more difficult it is to propose any rea-
 XXXVI. sonable advice. The cause of this difficulty is, that
 the encroachments of ambition must be repelled,
 not by words, but by deeds. If speeches and rea-
 soning sufficed, we should long ere now have pre-
 vailed over our adversary. But Philip equals in
 actions as much as we do in arguments; and both
 of us obtain the superiority in what forms respect-
 tively the chief object of our study and concern:
 we in our assemblies, Philip in the field.

He ex-
 plains the
 measures,
 and points
 out the
 dangerous
 designs of
 Philip.

“Immediately after the peace, the King of
 Macedon became master of Rhoeis and Therma-
 pylæ, and made such an use of these acquisitions
 as suited the interest of *Thebes*, not of *Athens*.
 Upon what principle did he act, thus? Because,
 governed in all his proceedings, not by the love of
 peace or justice, but by an insatiable lust of power,
 he saw the impossibility of bending the Athenians
 to his selfish and tyrannical purposes. He knew
 that the loftiness of their character would never
 stoop to private considerations, but prefer to any
 advantage that he might offer them, the dictates of
 justice and of honour: and that neither their pene-
 tration, nor their dignity, could ever be prevailed
 on to sacrifice to a partial and temporary interest,
 the general safety of Greece; but that they would
 fight for each member of the confederacy, with the
 same zeal as for their own walls. The *Thebans*
 he judged (and he judged aright) to be more
 assailable; he knew their folly and their meanness
 to be such, that provided he heaped benefits on
 themselves, they would assist him to enslave their

neighbours. Upon the same principle he now cultivates, in preference to yours, the friendship of the Messenians and Argives; a circumstance, Athenians! which highly redounds to your honour, since Philip thus declares his persuasion, that you alone have penetration to discern, and virtue to oppose his designs; that you foresee the drift of all his negotiations and wars, and are determined to be the incorruptible defenders of the common cause. Nor is it without good grounds that he entertains such an honourable opinion of you, and the contrary of the Thebans and Argives. When the liberties of Greece were threatened by Persia, as they now are by Macedon, the Thebans basely followed the standard of the invaders; the Argives did not oppose their arms; while the magnanimous patriots, from whom you are descended, spurned offers, highly advantageous, made them by Alexander of Macedon, the ancestor of Philip, who acted as the ambassador of Persia; and, preferring the public interest to their own, provoked the devastation of their territory, and the destruction of their capital, and performed, in defence of Greece, those unrivalled exploits of heroism which can never be celebrated with due praise. For such reasons, Philip chooses for his allies, Thebes, Argos, and Messenë, rather than Athens and Sparta. The former states possess not greater resources in money, fleets, harbours, and armies; they have not more strength, but less virtue. Nor can Philip plead the justice of their cause; since, if Chæronæa, and Orchomenus are justly subject to Thebes, Argos

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and Messenë are justly subject to Lacedæmon: nor could it be equitable to enslave the inferior cities of Boeotia; and at the same time to teach those of Peloponnesus to rebel.

“But Philip was compelled to this conduct (for this is the only remaining argument that can be alledged in his defence). “Surrouned by the Thessalian cavalry and Theban infantry, he was obliged to assist allies whom he distrusted, and to concur with measures which he disapproved. Hence the severe treatment of Phocis, hence the cruel servitude of Orchomenus and Charonea. The King of Macedon, being now at liberty to consult the dictates of his own humanity and justice, is desirous to re-establish the republic of Phocis; and, in order to bridle the insolence of Thebes, actually meditates the fortifying of Elateæ. This, indeed, he meditates, and will meditate long. But he does not meditate the destruction of Lacedæmon. For this purpose he has remitted money, he has sent his mercenaries, he is prepared, himself, to march at the head of a powerful army. His present transactions sufficiently explain the motives of his past conduct. It is evident that he acts from system, and that his principal batteries are erected against Athens itself? How can it be otherwise? He is ambitious to rule Greece;—you alone are able to thwart his measures. He has long treated you unworthily; and he is conscious of his injustice. He is actually contriving your destruction, and he is sensible that you see through his designs. For all these reasons he knows that you detest him, and that, should he

not dissipate your hostility, he must fall a victim to your just vengeance. Hence he is ever active and alert, watching a favourable moment of assault, and practising on the stupidity and selfishness of the Thebans and Peloponnesians; for if they were not stupid and blind, they might perceive the fatal aim of the Macedonian policy. I once spoke* on this subject before the Messenians and Argives; my discourse, which was then useless, may now be repeated most seasonably. "Men of Argos and Messenê! you remember the time when Philip caressed the Olynthians, as he now does you: how highly, do you think, that infatuated people would have been offended, had any man talked against the benefactor, who had generously bestowed on them Anthemus and Potidæa? Had any man warned them against the dangerous artifices of Philip, would they have listened to his advice? Yet, after enjoying for a moment the territory of their neighbours, they were for ever despoiled of their own. Inglorious was their fall; not conquered only, but betrayed and sold by each other. Turn your eyes to the Thessalians. When Philip expelled their tyrants, could the Thessalians ever conjecture that the same prince would subject them to the creatures of Macedon, still more tyrannical and oppressive? When he restored them to their seat and suffrage in the Amphictyonic council, could they have been persuaded that he would one day deprive them of the management of their own revenues?

* During his embassy to Peloponnesus, mentioned above.

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As to you, Messenians and Argives, behold the
 held Philip smiling and deceiving; but beware of
 pray to Heaven, that you may never behold him
 insulting, threatening, and destroying. Various are
 the contrivances which communities have discover-
 ed for their defence; walls, ramparts, battlements,
 all of which are raised by the labour of man, and
 supported by continual expense and toil. But there
 is one common bulwark, which only the prudent
 employ, though alike useful to all, especially to free
 cities against tyrants. What is that? Distrust.
 Of this be mindful; to this adhere; preserve this
 carefully, and no calamity can befall you."

Impeach-
 ment of
 Eschines
 and Philo-
 crates.

Demosthenes then read to the assembly the
 schedule of an answer, which he advised to be
 given to the ambassadors, and which was entirely
 favourable to the Lacedæmonians. At the same
 time he beseeched his countrymen to deliberate
 with firmness, yet with temper, on the means by
 which they might resist the common enemy; "from
 enemy with whom he had exhorted them to main-
 tain peace, as long as that seemed possible; but
 peace was no longer in their power. Philip gra-
 dually carried on a vast system of hostile ambition,
 dismembering their possessions, debauching their
 allies, paring their dominions all around, that he
 might at length attack the centre, unguarded and
 defenceless." Had the orator stopped here, his
 advice might have been followed with some useful
 consequences. But in declaiming against the en-
 croachments of Macedon, his resentment was na-

turally inclined against Philocrates, Æschines, and their associates whose perfidious machinations had produced the public danger and disgrace. He strongly recommended to the injured people to impeach, condemn, and consign to due punishment those detestable traitors. This counsel was not given in vain to the litigious Athenians, who were better pleased to attend the courts of justice at home, than to march into the Peloponnesus. The city resounded with the noise of trials and accusations. Philocrates was banished*, and Æschines narrowly escaped the same fate, by exposing the preffigable life of his accuser Timarchus†.

Philip, meanwhile, unopposed and unobserved by his enemies, was sailing with a powerful armament towards Cape Tenarus, the most southern promontory of Laconia. Having landed there without opposition, he was joined by the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argives. The united army, after ravaging the most valuable part of the Lacedæmonian territories, besieged and took Trinacra, a maritime city of considerable strength and importance. The terror occasioned among the Spartans by these misfortunes, was heightened by extraordinary meteors in the air, whose unusual redness seemed to presage some dreadful calamity‡. The alarm was so general, that it has been thought worth while to record the saying of a Spartan youth, who remained unmoved amidst the public

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Philip settles the affairs of the Peloponnesus.

* Æschin. in Ctesiphon. § Argum. in Æschin. Orat. in Timarch.

† Argum. in Æschin. Orat. in Timarch.
‡ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. ii. c. xxxvi.

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consternation. Being asked, "Whether he was not afraid of Philip?" "Why," replied the generous youth, "should I fear him; he cannot hinder me from dying for my country." But this manly resolution no longer animated the great body of the Spartan nation. Unable to meet the invader in the field, they sent Agis, the son of King Archidamus, to propose terms of accommodation, or rather to submit their whole fortune to the disposal of the Macedonians. The young prince coming alone and unattended, Philip expressed his surprise. "What, have the Spartans sent but one?" "Am I not sent to one?" was the manly reply of Agis. This was the expiring voice of Spartan pride; for the King of Macedon, though averse to provoke the despair of a people, whose slumbering virtue might yet be re-animating by the institutions of Lycurgus and the example of Leonidas, compelled them to resign their pretended authority over Argos, Messenë, and Arcadia; and settled the boundaries of those republics in a manner highly agreeable to the wishes of his confederates. Before leaving the Peloponnesus, he solemnly renewed his engagements to protect them; and, in return, only required, on their part, that the magistracy in Argos should be entrusted to Myrtis, Teledamus, and Moasius; in Arcadia, to Cercidas, Hieronymus, and Eucampidas, in Messenë, to Neon and Thrasylochus, the sons of Iphiades; men whose names would merit

• Frontin. l. iv. c. v.

† Plut. Apophth.

eternal oblivion, if Demosthenes justly branded them as traitors*; but a more impartial, and not less judicious writer, asserts, that by early espousing the interest of Philip, they acquired many important advantages for their respective communities; that their sagacity having foreseen the final prevalence of the Macedonian power and policy over the weakness and folly of Greece, they acted wisely in courting the rising fortune of a prince, who was, at length, enabled to take complete vengeance on his enemies; a vengeance which the Peloponnesians escaped, by their own prudence and foresight, and from which the Athenians, after long provoking it, were finally delivered by the love of glory and magnanimity, which regulated the conduct, and adorned the victory of Philip.

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Having settled the affairs of Peloponnesus, the King of Macedon marched through that country amidst the acclamations of the people, who vied with each other in bestowing crowns and statues, the usual marks of public gratitude and admiration, on a prince who had generously rescued them from the cruel yoke of Sparta. At Corinth, he passed some days in the house of Demaratus, a man totally devoted to his service; and assisted at the games and showy festivals, which were celebrated in that city, by an immense concourse of people from the neighbouring republics. The turbulent

Philip publicly insulted at Corinth?

οὗτοι παρὰ τῶν τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου, ἢ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ὁμοίων, πορταὶ πρὸς τὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ὧν ἀβύρτοι, ὁμοίᾳ γὰρ οὗτοι, ὡς καὶ οἱ τριπλοὶ μάλιστα γέγονεν. These traitors are named in Philipp. iii. & in Grati. de Corona.

† Polyb. lib. iii. 76.

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Corinthians; who, besides their innate hatred of kings, had particular causes of animosity against Philip, did not conceal their sentiments; and their inhospitable insolence was abetted by many Peloponnesians, who profited of the liberty of the place, and of the occasion, to testify their rooted aversion to the King of Macedon, and their unwillingness to owe their freedom and their safety to the interposition of a foreign tyrant. Philip was strongly urged by his courtiers to punish their ingratitude; but he knew how to digest an affront*, when forgiveness was more useful than vengeance; and repressed the unseasonable indignation of his attendants by observing, with admirable patience, "Were I to act with severity, what must I expect from men, who repay even kindness with insult?"

his moderation.

Philip extends the boundaries of Epirus and seizes the Halonnesus. Olymp. cix. 1. A. C. 344.

Philip proceeded from Corinth by the nearest route into Macedon, where he continued the remainder of that year, directing the improvements that were carrying on in his kingdom; and inspecting with particular care the education of his son Alexander, whose capacious and fervid mind, like a rich and luxuriant soil, producing promiscuously flowers and weeds, strongly required the hand of early culture†. But these useful occupations did not divert his attention from the politics of neighbouring states. He extended the boundaries of Epirus, then governed by his brother.

* Longinus has preserved the expression of Theopompus, "that Philip could easily swallow affronts."

† Plutarch Alexand.

† Plut. ibid.

in-law, Alexander, the most faithful and devoted of his vassals; by adding to that little principality the province of Cassiopæa, which was chiefly inhabited by Elian colonies. At the same time he exercised his fleet, by wresting Halonnesus, an island near the coast of Thessaly, from the hands of corsairs, and kept possession of his conquest, without paying any regard to the claim of Athens, its ancient and legitimate sovereign*.

Next year Philip was summoned into Upper Thrace by a rebellion of the petty princes in that country, fomented by Amadocus King of the Odrysians. The warlike tribes of that great nation acting with little concert or union, were successively subdued; and the dexterity of the King of Macedonia seconding his usual good fortune, he soon ranked the most obstinate of his enemies in the number of his vassals or courtiers†. At his return from the inhospitable wilds of Thrace, he received into his protection the city and republic of Cardia, occupying the neck of land which joins the Thracian Chersonesus to the continent. The rest of the peninsula had long been subject to the Athenians, whose authority the citizens of Cardia always set at defiance. The Athenians had lately strengthened the Chersonesites by a new colony, which had continued disputes with the Cardians about the extent of their boundaries. Matters had actually come to a crisis, and the Cardians were ready to be overwhelmed by the strength and numbers of the enemy.

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Settles the
commo-
tions in
Thrace,
and pro-
tects the
Cardians.
Olymp.
six 2
A. C. 248.

* Demosth. Orat. de Halon.

† Biedor. l. xvi. p. 464.

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evidence, that the Athenians resolved upon sending a considerable armament to the Chersonesus, to protect their subjects in that peninsula. Diopceithes, who commanded the expedition, was a determined enemy to the Macedonians, and a man of courage and enterprise. Before he arrived in the Chersonesus, Philip trusting to the effect of his letters and intrigues, had returned into Upper Thracia. Diopceithes, availed himself of this opportunity, to march with vigour. Having provided for the defence of the Athenian settlements in Thracia, he made an incursion into the neighbouring country; stormed the Macedonian settlements at Crobylé and Tirsitasis; and having carried off many prisoners, and a considerable booty, lodged them in the safe retreat of the Chersonesus. On this emergency, Amphilocheus, a Macedonian of rank, was sent as ambassador, to treat of the ransom of prisoners; but Diopceithes, regardless of this character, still held sacred in Greece, cast him in prison, the more surely to widen the breach between Athens and Macedon; and, if possible, to render it irreparable. With equal severity he treated a herald, whom he had taken in his late excursion, charged with letters from Philip; which were read to Athens, and read in full assembly.

The particulars of Philip's cabal to ruin Diopceithes.

The King of Macedon, when informed of these hostilities and insults, gave free scope to his complaints, and threats; and his emissaries had an

* Demosthen. seu Hegesipp. de Halon. p. 33, & seqq.

† Epistol. Philipp. & Liban. Argum. in Demosthen. Orat. de Cherson.


under arms at Athens, as Diopéithes had not only violated the peace with Macedon, but, in order to maintain his troops, which were very sparingly supplied by the republic, levied considerable contributions from the Greek settlements in Asia. The partisans of Macedon inveighed against this commander as a robber and pirate, the common enemy of Greeks and Barbarians; Philip's letters demanded vengeance from the justice of Athens; if not, he would be his own avenger: the personal enemies of Diopéithes joined in the outcry, and insisted, that such a daring offender ought immediately to be recalled, and severely punished.

On this occasion Demosthenes undertook to defend the accused general, whose measures he warmly approved; and motives of private friendship heightening the ardour of patriotism, rank his discourse on the affairs of the Chersonesus among the most animated and interesting of his productions. The impeachment of Diopéithes he ascribes entirely to malice or perfidy, which had been too successfully employed to withdraw the attention of the Athenians from the main object of their concern, the continual encroachments of Philip, to unjust complaints and calumnies against their fellow-citizen. Diopéithes, if really in fault, might be brought home to answer for it whenever they thought proper. A simple mandate from the republic could, at any time, reduce him to his duty. But

He is
powerful-
ly defend-
ed by De-
mos-
thenes.

* Demosthen. Orat. de Chersoneso.

Philip, the public enemy, who was continually infringing the peace, who, antecedently to the expedition of Diopelthes, had oppressed the Chersonesites, had stormed Serrium and Doriscus, how was Philip to be restrained, unless they repelled force by force? Instead of recalling their troops from the Chersonesus on the remonstrance of a crafty tyrant, who would not acknowledge himself at war with them, till he assaulted the walls of Athens, they ought to exert their utmost ability in augmenting the army in that quarter. Should their forces be withdrawn, Philip would wait the approach of winter, or the setting in of the Etesian winds, to fall on the Chersonesus. Will it then be sufficient to accuse Diopelthes? Or will this save our allies? "O, but we will sail to their relief." But if the winds will not permit you! Even should our enemy, attack, not the Chersonesus, but Megara or Chalcis, as he lately did Oreum, would it not be better to oppose him in Thrace, than to attract the war to the frontiers of Attica? The exactions demanded by Diopelthes from the Asiatic Greeks are justified by the example of all his predecessors, who, according to the strength of their respective armaments, have always levied proportional contributions from the colonies; and the people who grant this money, whether more or less, do not give it for nothing. It is the price for which they are furnished with convoys to protect their trading vessels from rapine and piracy. If Diopelthes employed not that resource, how could he subsist his troops, he who receives nothing from you, and who has

nothing of his own? From the skies? No; but CHAP. XXXVL
 from what he can collect, and beg, and borrow. 
 Who does not perceive that this pretended concern for the colonies, in men who have no concern for their country, is one of the many artifices employed to confine and fix you to the city, while the enemy keeps the field, and manages the war at pleasure? That such traitors should exist, is less surprising than that you should patiently receive from them such counsels, as Philip himself would dictate. For what else could the King of Macedonia, who understands his own interest so well, advise, but that you should remain quietly at home, decline personal service in the war, deny pay to your soldiers, revile and insult your general? When a man, hired to betray you, rises up in the assembly, and declares Chæres or Diopethes to be the cause of your calamities, such an hypocrite is heard with satisfaction. You despise the voice of him, who, animated by a sincere love for his country, calls out, "Be not deceived, Athenians! Philip is the real cause of all your misfortunes and disgrace." The disagreeable truth renders the man who declares it odious; for the insidious discipline of certain ministers has so changed your principles and characters, that you are become fierce and formidable in your courts of justice, but tame and contemptible in the field. You rejoice, therefore, to hear your distress charged on those whom you can punish at home; but are unwilling to believe that it proceeds from a public enemy, whom you

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must oppose with arms in your hands. Yet Athenians, if the states of Greece should thus call you to account for your conduct: "Men of Athens, you are continually sending embassies to assure us, that Philip is projecting our ruin, and that of all the Greeks. But O, most wretched of mankind! when this common foe was detained six months abroad by sickness, the severity of winter, and the armies of his enemies, did you profit by that opportunity to recover your lost possessions? Did you restore even Eubœa to liberty, and expel those troops and tyrants who had been placed there in ambush, and directly opposite to Attica? No. You have remained insensible to your wrongs, and fully convinced us, that were Philip ten times to die, it would not inspire you with the least degree of vigour. Why then these embassies, these accusations, all this unnecessary ferment!" If the Greeks should ask this, what could we answer? I know not.

"There are men who think to perplex a well-intentioned speaker by asking, What ought we to do? My answer is sincere, None of those things which you do at present. I explain my opinion at greater length, and may you be as ready to receive, as to ask, advice! First of all, you must hold it as a matter of firm belief, that Philip has broken the peace, and is at war with your republic: that he is an enemy to your city, to the ground on which it stands, to all those who inhabit it, and not least to such as are now most distinguished by his favours.

The fate of Euthykrates and Lashenes*, citizens of Olynthus, may teach our traitors the destruction that awaits them; after they have surrendered their country. But, though an enemy to your city, your soil, and your people, Philip is chiefly hostile to your government, which, though ill fitted to acquire, or to maintain, dominion over others, is admirably adapted to defend both yourselves and them; to repel usurpation, and to humble tyrants. To your democracy, therefore, Philip is an unrelenting foe, a truth, of which you ought to be deeply persuaded; and next, that wherever you repress his encroachments, you act for the safety of Athens, against which, chiefly, all his batteries are erected. For who can be so foolish as to believe, that the cottages of Thrace (Drongila, Cabyla, and Mastira), should form an object worthy of his ambition; that, in order to acquire them he should submit to toils and dangers; that, for the sake of the rye and millet of Thrace, he should consent to spend so many months amidst winter snows and blasting tempests; while, at the same time, he disregarded the riches and splendour of Athens; your harbours, arsenals, gallics, mines, and revenues? No, Athenians! It is to get possession of Athens, that he makes war in Thrace and elsewhere. What then ought we to do? Tear ourselves from our indolence; not only sustain, but augment, the troops which are on foot; that, as

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* See above, c. xxxv.

S-H A P. Philip has an army ever ready to attack and conquer the Greeks, you also may be ready to attack and to save them*.]

Demosthenes ventures not to propose the war in form.

It is worthy of observation (because nothing betrays more evidently the tyrannical spirit of democracy), that Demosthenes does not propose the war in form, by bringing in a written bill or decree, to be approved or rejected by the votes of his countrymen. This decree must have been deposited among the Athenian archives; and, if the war should prove unfortunate, might be produced at some future time for the destruction of its author, whose enemies would not fail to allege this instrument as a proof that he had occasioned the rupture with Philip, and all the calamities consequent on that measure. The party accused would, in that case, vainly endeavour to shelter himself under the votes of the assembly, since an ordinary court of justice could call him to account for misleading the people, and punish him with banishment or death. Demosthenes artfully glances at this disagreeable subject: "Rash, impudent, and audacious, I neither am, Athenians! nor wish ever to become; yet am I actuated by more true fortitude than the boldest of your demagogues, who, capriciously distributing honours and largesses on the one hand, and as capriciously impeaching, condemning, and confiscating on the other, have, in either case, a sure pledge of impunity in the fiat

* Demosthen. Orat. de Chersones. § 85, & seqq.
† By the ἡγεμὶς ἡγεμονίας. Vide Demosth. de Coron. passim.

tery and artifices by which they have long seduced the public. The courage of that minister is put to an easy trial, who is ever ready to sacrifice your permanent interest to your present gratification. But he is truly courageous, who, for the sake of your safety and glory, opposes your most favourite inclinations, rouses you from your dream of pleasure, disdains to flatter you, and, having the good of his country ever in view, assumes that post in the administration in which fortune often prevails over policy, knowing himself responsible for the issue. Such a minister am I, whose unpopular counsels are calculated to render, not myself, but my country great."

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These arguments and remonstrances of Demosthenes not only saved Diopithes, but animated the Athenians with a degree of vigour* which they had been long unaccustomed to exert. A fleet was fitted out under the command of Callias, who seized all Macedonian ships as lawful prize, and made a descent on the coast of Thessaly, after plundering the harbours in the Pelagic gulf. A considerable body of forces was sent into Acarnania to repel the incursions of Philip, abetted by his kinsman and ally, Alexander of Epirus. The inhabitants of the island of Peperathus, trusting to the protection of Athens, expelled the Macedonian garrison from Halonnesus. Repeated embassies were dispatched to the Peloponnesians and Euboeans, exhorting them to throw off the ignominious yoke of Macedon, and to unite

The Athenians oppose the common enemy with spirit by sea and land.

* Vid. Epist. Philip.

CHAP. With their Grecian brethren against the public
 enemy. Philip was not unattentive to these com-
 motions, but his designs against the valuable cities
 on the Propontis and Thracian Bosphorus, being
 ripe for execution, he was unwilling to allow any
 secondary consideration to divert him from that
 important enterprise.

Philip at-
 tempts to
 get pos-
 session of
 Byzan-
 tium and
 Perinthus
 Olymp.
 cix. 3.
 A. C. 342.

His intrigues and bribery had gained a con-
 siderable party in Byzantium, at the head of which
 was the perfidious Python, whose vehement elo-
 quence gave him great influence with the multi-
 tude. A conspiracy was formed to surrender one
 of the gates of the city; the Macedonian army
 of thirty thousand men hovered round, but the
 design was suspected or discovered, and Philip to
 screen his partisans from public vengeance, reason-
 ably withdrew his army, and invented the neigh-
 bouring city of Perinthus. The news of these
 transactions not only increased the activity of
 Athens, but alarmed Ochus King of Persia, who
 being no stranger to Philip's design of invading
 his dominions, trembled at beholding that ambi-
 tious prince gradually approach his frontier. To
 remove this danger, Ochus adopted the same po-
 licy, which, in similar circumstances, had been
 successfully employed by his predecessors. The
 Persian gold was profusely scattered among the
 most eminent of the Grecian demagogues. De-
 mosthenes, whose patriotism was not always proof

* Demosth. de Coron. & Diodor. l. xiv. c. xliii.

† Plut. in Alexand.

against an unworthy alliance* with interest, rejoiced at being paid for doing what he considered as his duty. At Athens his invectives were louder than even against the King of Macedonia, and the affairs of Eubœa gave him an opportunity of exerting himself with equal zeal in that island.

The factious spirit of the Eubœans rendered them alike incapable of independence, and of remaining quietly under the government either of Athens or Macedonia, to which they were alternately subject. The recent prevalence of the Macedonian party had been marked by many acts of violence and oppression. The city of Chalcis, Ereum, and Eretria, prepared to rebel, having previously solicited assistance from Peloponnesus, Acarnania, Attica, and every province of Greece, which they had any reason to deem favourable to their views. From other states they brought back promises and hopes; from Athens they obtained, chiefly through the influence of Demosthenes, a considerable body of troops commanded by the brave and virtuous Phocion. The orator accompanied the expedition; and being allowed to address the popular assemblies in most of the cities of Eubœa, he inflamed them with such animosity against Philip and his partisans, that little remained to be done by the valour of the Athenian general. The Eubœans every where took arms in defence of their freedom, the Macedonian garrisons were expelled from the principal cities, and driven from one post to another, till they were forced entirely

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The Athenians recover Eubœa.

* Plut in Demosth.

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The merit
of Demos-
thenes ac-
knowledg-
ed on this
occasion.

Circum-
stances
which en-
abled the
Perinthe-
ans to
make an
obstinate
defence.
Olymp.
eiv. 4.
A. C. 341.

to evacuate the island. This event occasioned great joy at Athens; and the principal merit was ascribed to Demosthenes, who, at the motion of Aristonicus, a man of merit and eminence, was crowned by the senate and people with a golden crown; which honour was publicly proclaimed in the theatre of Bacchus, during the representation of the new tragedies, amidst an immense concourse of people, citizens and strangers*.

The loss of Eubœa was ill-compensated to Philip by the military operations against Perinthus, in which he found an enemy worthy of his courage and perseverance. The town was situated on the sloping ridge of an isthmus, and strongly fortified both by art and nature, the houses and streets rising one above another like the seats of an amphitheatre, so that the higher edifices overlooked and defended the lower. Having stouted the neighbouring country with his cavalry, Philip exhausted, in the siege of Perinthus, all the military skill known to the ancients. He raised towers forty cubits high, which enabled his men to fight on equal ground with the besieged; his miners were busy at the foundation; at length the battering rams advanced to the wall, in which a considerable breach was made. During this time, however, the townsmen had not been idle. The superior discharge of darts, arrows, and every kind of missile weapon, from the Macedonian towers, had indeed dislodged the Perinthians from

* Demosth. de Coron. & Plat. in Demosth.

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these parts of the wall and battlements, against which the principal attack had been directed. But with incessant toil, the besieged built a new wall within the former, on which they appeared in battle array, prepared to repel the enemy who entered the breaches*. The Macedonians, who advanced with impetuous joy to reap the fruits of their labour, were infinitely mortified to find that their work must be begun anew. Philip employed rewards and punishments, and all the resources of his mind, fertile in expedients, to restore their hopes and to reanimate their activity. The siege recommenced with fresh ardour, and the Perinthians were thrice reduced to extremity, when they were unexpectedly saved, first by a large supply of arms and provisions from Byzantium, next by a strong reinforcement of men in Persian pay, commanded by Apollodorus, a citizen of Athens; and lastly, by the advantageous situation of the town, which, being built in a conical form, presenting its apex or narrow point to the besiegers, gradually rose and widened towards the remoter parts, from which it was easy to observe all the motions of the enemy, and as they approached, to overwhelm them from distant batteries. Philip, even sparing of the lives of his men, was deterred by this circumstance from venturing an assault, though his machines had effected a breach in the new wall; he therefore determined to change the siege into a blockade. Perinthus was shut up

* Diodor. p. 466. & seqq.

CHAP. as closely as possible by sea and land; part of the
 XXXVI Macedonian troops who had become mutinous for want of pay (for Philip at this time owed above two hundred talents, or forty thousand pounds sterling,) were indulged in plundering the rich territory of Byzantium, while the remainder were conducted to the siege of Selymbria; and soon after of Byzantium itself; the taking of which places, it was hoped might compensate their lost labour at Perinthus*.

The Thracian cities, supported by numerous allies, resist the arms of Philip.

During the military operations against the cities of the Propontis, Demosthenes did not cease exhorting his countrymen to undertake their defence as essential to their own safety. The hostilities and devastations of Philip, he represented as the periodical returns of the pestilence and other contagious disorders, in which all men were alike threatened with their respective shares of calamity. He who was actually sound and untainted, had an equal interest with the diseased and infirm, to root out the common evil, which if allowed to lurk in any part would speedily pervade and afflict the whole. The Macedonians now besieged Selymbria and Byzantium; if successful in these enterprises, they would soon appear before Sparta, Thebes, and Athens. Yet he knew not by what fatality the Greeks viewed the successive encroachments of Philip, not as events which their vigorous and united opposition might ward off and repel, but as disasters inflicted by the hand of Providence; as a

* Diodorus, l. xvi. c. xxii.

tempestuous cloud of hail, so destructive to the vines in autumn, which all beheld, with horror, hovering over them, but none took any other means to prevent, than by deprecating the fatal visitation from his own field*. These animated and just representations of the common distress or danger, engaged the Athenians to enter into a close correspondence with the besieged cities. Demosthenes undertook a journey to Byzantium; and Leon, a Byzantine orator and patriot, the friend and fellow-student of the virtuous Phocion, resided as ambassador in Athens. At the same time, the principal cities of the Propontis maintained an uninterrupted intercourse of good offices with each other, as well as with their allies of Rhodes and Chios, from whom they received repeated supplies of arms and provisions.

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Philip, meanwhile, ceased not to assure the Athenians, by his letters and emissaries, that he was extremely desirous of maintaining peace with their republic, and gently chid them for their evident marks of partiality towards his enemies, which, however, he took care to ascribe, not to the general temper and disposition of the people,

Philip attacks and defeats Diopithea, and justifies his conduct to the Athenians.

* *Αλλὰ τίς τις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ὅλῳις ἀνέχονταί καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἴσους, ὅταν δὲ τοὺς χαλεκοὺς, ἁμέρας, δακρυῖ, θορυβοῦ, πυχροῦ μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς μακρὰν γαστήρα καλύπτειν οὐδὲν ἀνέχοντες.* Demosth. in Philip. iii. p. 48. In the country where I now write (the Pais de Vaud) the beauty and force of this comparison is too well understood. Lest mountains covered with snow, sunny hills and fertile vallies.—Such too is the geography of Greece, which rendered the hail-storms so alarming to vintagers.

† Demosthen. de Corona.

C H A P. but to the prevalence of a dangerous faction, in-
XLVI flamed by seditious and selfish demagogues. By a
 rapid march he had recently surprised an Athenian
 detachment ravaging the territory of Cardia.
 Diopceithes, the Athenian general in the Chersonesus, commanded this predatory band, which, after a slight skirmish, was repelled with the loss of its leader, slain by a dart, while he rallied his men with his voice and arm. Philip failed not, by letter, to excuse this act of hostility, to which he assured the Athenians, that he had been compelled much against his inclination: he affected to consider Diopceithes as the instrument of a malignant faction, headed by Demosthenes, rather than as the acknowledged general of the republic; and, as that commander had acted unwarrantably in plundering the Cardians, a people strictly allied with Macedon, Philip assured himself that the senate and people would not take it amiss that, provoked by repeated injuries, he had resisted wanton aggression, and defended the lives and fortunes of his long-injured confederates.

Philip's
 admiral
 seizes an
 Athenian
 convoy
 destined
 for the
 relief of
 Selymbria.

While the Athenians and Philip were on this footing of correspondence, the former sent twenty vessels laden with corn to the relief of the Selymbrians. Leodamas, who commanded this convoy, seems to have imagined that the treaty, formerly subsisting between the two powers, would protect him from injury. But in this he was disappointed. His fleet was surrounded and taken by Amyntas, who commanded the naval force of Macedon, and who determined to retain his prize, without paying

any regard to the complaints and remonstrances of CHAP. XXXVI.
 Leodamas, who pretended that the convoy was
 not destined for Selymbria, but employed in con-
 veying the superabundance of the fertile Cherso-
 nesus, to the rocky and barren island of Lemnos.

The news of the capture of their ships occa- Philip re- stores the captured vessels, and writes an artful letter to the Athenians. Olymp. cix. 4. A. C. 341.
 sioned much tumult and uneasiness among the
 Athenians. After frequent deliberations on this
 subject, a decree was framed for sending ambassa-
 dors to Philip, in order to re-demand their property,
 and to require that Amyntas, if he had exceeded
 his instructions, should be punished with due seve-
 rity. Cephisophon, Democritus, and Polycrates,
 who were named for this commission, repaired
 without delay to Philip in the Hellespont, who, at
 their request, immediately released the captured
 vessels, and dismissed the Athenians with the fol-
 lowing letter: "Philip, King of Macedon, to the
 senate and people of Athens, Health. I have
 received three of your citizens in quality of am-
 bassadors, who have conferred with me about the
 release of certain ships, commanded by Leodamas.
 I cannot but admire their simplicity in thinking to
 persuade me that these ships were intended to con-
 vey corn from the Chersonesus to the isle of Lem-
 nos, and not destined for the relief of the Selym-
 brians, actually besieged by me, and no wise in-
 cluded in the treaty of pacification between Athens
 and Macedon. This unjust commission Leoda-
 mas received, not from the people of Athens, but
 from certain magistrates, and others now in private
 stations, who are too busy in urging you to violate

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your engagements, and to commence hostilities against me; a matter which they have more at heart than the relief of Selymbria, fondly imagining that they may derive personal advantage from such a rupture. Deeply persuaded that our mutual interest requires us to frustrate their wicked schemes, I have given orders to release the captured vessels; do you, in return, remove such pernicious counsellors from the administration of your affairs; and let them feel the severity of your justice. On my part, I shall endeavour to preserve and consolidate the treaty, by which we stand mutually engaged*."

Demos-
thenes
persuades
the Athe-
nians to
succour
the be-
sieged
cities in
Thrace.

The moderate and friendly sentiments expressed in this letter afforded great advantage to the Macedonian partisans at Athens. But Demosthenes and Leon of Byzantium, spared no pains to detect and expose the artifices and duplicity of Philip, who employed this humble and peaceful tone, during his operations against the cities of the Propontis, in order to stifle the resentment of the Athenians, at a crisis when they might act against him with peculiar advantage. In elaborate and powerful orations†, in which, without urging any new matter, Demosthenes condensed, invigorated, and enlivened his former observations and reasonings, he convinced his countrymen of the expediency of being for once beforehand with their enemy, and of anticipating his designs against themselves by a speedy and effectual assistance to their distressed

* Epist. Philip. in Demosth.

† Orat. iv. in Philip. & Orat. de Epist. Philip.

brethren of Perinthus, Selembria, and Byzantium. CHAP. XXXVL
 By his convincing eloquence, the public councils were animated with a degree of energy and enthusiasm which had not appeared in them during many years; and which produced the last transitory glimpse of success and splendour, before the glory of Athens was extinguished for ever.

It was decreed by the senate and people, to fit out a fleet of an hundred and twenty gallies; but unfortunately the command was given to Chares, whose character rendered him as contemptible to the enemies, as he was formidable to the allies, of the republic. The Byzantines excluded him from their harbour, and he was defeated by Amyntas, the Macedonian admiral, off the opposite shore of Chalcedon. This disaster, which was chiefly occasioned by the incapacity of their commander, made the Athenians cast their eyes on Phocion*, who, though ever ready to serve his country, was most frequently called for in times of danger and calamity.

Dishonourable expedition of Chares. Olymp. cx. l. A. C. 340.

Before Phocion reached the Propontis, Philip, flushed with his naval success, made an attempt to storm Byzantium. That city was environed on three sides by the sea, and defended on the fourth by a strong wall, and a large and deep trench, crowned with lofty towers, separated at small intervals from each other. Confident in the strength of the place and the abundance of their magazines, the inhabitants of Byzantium, without risking a sally, allowed Philip to carry on his works, and gradually

Philip fails in his attempt to surprise Byzantium.

* Plutarch. in Phocion.

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to make his approaches to their walls. During this inaction of the townsmen, Philip carefully advanced his battering engines, and seemed determined to assault their walls; but meanwhile, embracing proper measures for gaining the place by surprise. For executing this design, he chose the gloom of a tempestuous night; a determined band of Macedonians passed the ditch; the scaling-ladders were already fixed; when the centinels of Byzantium were alarmed by the barking of mastiffs, kept in the towers, even in time of peace, to secure them in the night. The alarm was spread with rapidity among the several guards, who rushing tumultuously from their respective stations, as if the enemy had been already masters of the town, were on the point of blindly assaulting each other, when a bright meteor, or repeated flashes of lightning, enabled them to distinguish their friends and to discern the danger. Having formed in some degree of order, they advanced against the Macedonians, who had already gained the rampart, from which they were with difficulty repulsed by superior numbers*.

The Athenians, commanded by Phocion save the Thracian cities. Olymp.
or 1.
A. C. 340

The defeat of this bold and dangerous enterprise did not discourage Philip from carrying on his operations with indefatigable diligence and vigour. His perseverance must finally have prevailed over the obstinacy of the besieged, had not the Athenian fleet, under Phocion, arrived in the Thracian Bosphorus. The Byzantines received

* Diodor. L. xiv. p. 361.

him with open arms, expecting that under such a commander, their auxiliaries would prove not less modest and inoffensive in their quarters, than active and intrepid in the field. Nor were their hopes disappointed; the arms of Philip were foiled in every rencounter; his artifices were met and eluded by similar address; nor could he expect by force or fraud to gain any advantage over an opponent alike brave and vigilant*. The King of Macedon, who had as much flexibility in varying his measures, as firmness in adhering to his purposes, was unwilling any farther to press his bad fortune. In the actual state of his affairs, he judged it necessary to raise the siege of Byzantium, to withdraw his forces from Selymbria and Perinthus, and to leave the Athenians in possession of the northern shore of the Propontis. These were humiliating resolutions; but fortunately for Philip, an event fell out, which prevented the execution of them from reflecting much discredit on his arms or policy.

Phocion, to whose conduct the safety of so many important cities was principally owing, sailed from Byzantium amidst the grateful vows and acclamations of innumerable spectators. In his voyage to the Chersonesus, he captured a fleet of victualers and transports, carrying arms and provisions for the enemy. When he arrived in that peninsula, he repressed the insolence of the Cardians, who, reinforced by a Macedonian garrison, had recently undertaken an expedition against the city of Sestos. He recovered several places on the

and ra-
vage the
Macedo-
nian ter-
ritories.

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coast of Thrace, which had reluctantly submitted to the dominion of the Macedonians; and in concert with the inhabitants, embraced such measures as seemed most proper to protect the Athenian allies in those parts, from future danger. Instead of burdening the confederates with the maintenance of his army, he plentifully supplied all the wants of his soldiers from the enemy's country. He commanded in person the parties that went out to forage and to plunder; and in one of those expeditions, received a dangerous wound, yet did not embark for his return, until he had spread the terror of the Athenian name, by ravaging with fire and sword the hereditary dominions of Philip*.

Extraordinary honours conferred on the Athenians and Phocion, by the cities which they had relieved.

The meritorious services of Phocion were deeply felt and acknowledged by the communities whom he had protected and relieved. The deliverance and gratitude of the Chersonesus, of Perinthus, and of Byzantium, were testified by crowns, statues, inscriptions, and altars; and are still recorded in an oration of Demosthenes, which most justly survives those perishing monuments of gold and marble. The decree of the Byzantines and Perinthians, after describing the ancient and recent benefits conferred on them by Athens, enacted, "that in return for those favours the Athenians should be entitled to the right of intermarriage, the privilege of purchasing lands in their territories, the freedom of their respective

* Plut. in Phocion & Diodor. ubi supra. † Idem, ibid.

‡ Demosthen. de Corona.

cities, and the first and most honourable place in all their entertainments and assemblies: That whatever Athenians chose to reside with them should be exempted from taxes: And that, further, three statues, each sixteen cubits high, should be erected in the port of Byzantium, representing the republic of Athens, crowned by the Byzantines and Perinthians: That this crown should be proclaimed at the four principal festivals of Greece, in order to commemorate the magnanimity of Athens, and the gratitude of the Byzantines and Perinthians." The inhabitants of the Chersonesus were not less forward in their acknowledgments and rewards. After a similar preamble, setting forth the manifold favours of their great and generous allies, they resolved to crown the senate and the people of Athens with a golden crown worth sixty talents; and to consecrate an altar to Gratitude and the Athenians. These public and solemn honours afforded matter of equal triumph to Phocion, who had executed, and to Demosthenes, who had advised, the measures, in consequence of which such just glory had been acquired. At the distance of several years, the orator still boasted of this important service. "You have frequently, Athenians! rewarded with crowns the statesmen most successful in conducting your affairs. But name, if you can, any other counsellor, any other statesman, by whose means the state itself hath been thus honoured.*"

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Atheas
King of
Scythia
invites
Philip to
assist him
against
the Is-
trians.

The circumstances which enabled Philip to elude the violence of the storm with which the hostility of Athens, Persia, and so many other powers, had been long preparing to overwhelm him, took its rise from an error of judgment, occasioned by that boundless ambition which formed the ruling passion of the Macedonian prince. Beyond the confines of Thrace, and beyond the northern frontier of the Lower Mœsia, dwelt a powerful Scythian tribe, in the valuable peninsula contained between the western waves of the Euxæe and the majestic stream of the Danube. The roving and unsettled life of the Scythians, like that of their descendants the Tartars, had led them into this country, from their native and proper territories, embracing the six mouths of the Danube or Ister, the banks of the Boristhenes, and the shores of the Palus Mœotis, which districts in ancient times were named Little Scythia*, and are still called Little Tartary†. A monarch less warlike and less ambitious than Philip, might have observed, with indignation and regret, those fierce and rapacious Barbarians, extending themselves beyond their natural limits, and enjoying an establishment to the south of the Danube; which great river, as he was already master of Thrace, and counted the Tribes of Mœsia among the number of his tributaries, Philip's proud and usurping fancy had already usurped as the barrier of his empire, and the proper line of separation between barbarous and civilized

* Herodotus & Strabo, *passim*.

† Geograph. de D'Anville

nations. It was not, therefore, without such excess of joy as transported him beyond the bounds of sound policy, that, amidst his preparations against the cities on the Propontis, he received an invitation from Atheas*, who styled himself King of the Scythians, to march to his assistance, and to defend his dominions, consisting in the peninsula above mentioned, against an invasion of the Istrians, which the domestic forces of Atheas were totally unable to resist. To this proposal was added a condition extremely alluring to the King of Macedonia, that if his auxiliary arms enabled Atheas to vanquish and expel the invaders, Philip should be named heir to the *kingdom* of Scythia; for, according to the fashion of ancient times, Atheas dignified with the name of kingdom, a territory little larger than the principality of Wales.

In greedily snatching this bait laid for his ambition, Philip was not enough on his guard against the usual perfidy and levity of Barbarians; nor did he sufficiently consider, that by sending a powerful detachment into Scythia, he must greatly weaken his exertions against the cities of the Propontis. With an ardour and alacrity too rapid for reflection, he eagerly closed with the propositions of Atheas, sent a great body of forces to the north, and promised to assist them in person at the head of his whole army, should they encounter any difficulty in the execution of their purpose. Meanwhile the warlike chief of the Istrians, whose courage alone animated, and whose conduct rep-

Perfidy
and insolence
of
that Bar-
barian.

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Philip re-
mon-
strates
with him
in vain.

Upon receiving an account of the insolent behaviour of a prince who had so recently solicited his alliance, Philip, while still basely, but unceasingly, employed against the cities of the Propontis, sent an embassy to Scythia, requiring Athens to satisfy the just demands of the Macedonian troops, and to indemnify himself for the expenses incurred in his defence. The ambassadors found the king of Scythia in his stable, currying his horse. When they testified surprise at

* Justin. l. ix. c. ii.

seeing him engaged in such an occupation, he asked them, Whether their master did not often employ himself in the same manner? adding, that for his own part, in time of peace, he made not any distinction between himself and his groom. When they opened their commission and explained the demands of Philip, the subtle Barbarian told them, that the poverty of Scythia could not furnish a present becoming the greatness of their master; and that, therefore, it seemed more handsome to offer nothing at all, than such a gift as would be totally unworthy of his acceptance*.

This evasive and mortifying answer being brought to the King of Macedon when foiled and harassed, yet not disheartened; by his unprosperous expedition against Byzantium, furnished him with a very honourable pretence for raising the siege of that place, and conducting a powerful army into Scythia, that he might chastise the treacherous ingratitude of a prince; who, after having overreached him by fraud, now mocked him with insult. Having advanced to the frontier of Athens' dominions, Philip had recourse to his usual arts, and sent a herald with the ensigns of peace and friendship, to announce his arrival in Scythia, in order to perform a solemn vow which he had made during the siege of Byzantium, to erect a brazen statue to Hercules on the banks of the Danube. The cunning Athens was not the dupe of this artifice, which he knew how to counter and elude with similar address. Without

PLAINING OR BLAMING THE PIOUS INTENTION OF THE KING, he coolly desired him to forward the statue, which he himself would take care to erect in the appointed place; that, should it be set up with his concurrence and direction, it would, probably, be allowed to stand; otherwise, he could give no assurance that the Scythians would not pull it down, and melt it, to make points for their weapons*.

Success of
his Scy-
thian ex-
pedition.

The return of the Macedonian herald gave the signal for hostility. Philip entered the country with fire and sword, destroying the forests and pasturage, and seizing the slaves and cattle, which formed the principal wealth of the Scythians. He seems to have employed several weeks in an expedition, the circumstances of which, were they essential to the design of this work, could not be related with any fulness or accuracy. Countries in a pastoral state are but thinly peopled; and Philip was obliged to divide his forces, in order to vanquish with greater rapidity the wandering hordes, separated from each other by wide intervals, according as a forest, a meadow, or a stream of fresh water, obtained their preference, and decided their temporary abode. A party of Macedonian soldiers beat up the quarters of a numerous and warlike clan, by which they were repelled, with the loss of several slain, or taken. Among the latter was Ismenias, an eminent musician, who had been invited by liberal rewards to reside at the court of Philip, after being long admired in Greece for his performance on the flute. This distinguished captive was sent as a present to Atheas,

who received so little delight from his accomplishments, that having heard him perform, he acknowledged the neighing of his horse to be to his ear far more agreeable music. The skirmish in which Ismerias was taken seems to have been the principal advantage obtained by the Barbarians, whose constitutional courage, and impetuous ill-directed fury, was every where overcome by the disciplined valour of the Macedonian phalanx.

Philip reaped such fruits from his Scythian expedition as might be expected in vanquishing a people who had no King but their general, no god but their sword, and no cities but the ground on which they occasionally encamped with their herds and families. The spoil consisted in arms, chariots, twenty thousand robust captives, a greater number of mares destined to replenish the studs of Pella. We are not informed whether Philip erected the promised statue to the great founder and protector of his family and kingdom. It is probable that he imposed a tribute on the Scythians, as a mark of their submission and dependence, purposing to reduce them more thoroughly, when he had effected his great designs in Greece, to which country the silent operation of his intrigues now summoned his return.

The nature and quantity of the booty.

But while he marched southward at the head of an army encumbered with baggage and spoil, a very unexpected event threatened to blast his last tale, and to terminate at once his glory and his

Philip, on his return, surprised by the Triballi.

* Justin. l. ii. c. v.

† Compare Justin. l. ix. c. ii. & Strabo, p. 752.

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life. Allured by the hopes of sharing the warlike plunder of the Scythians, the barbarous Triballi, who had been often conquered, but never thoroughly subdued, beset by ambush, and vigorously assaulted the Macedonians, entangled amidst the intricate windings of the mountains of Moesia; hoping to cut off, by one stroke, the flower of a nation whose authority their own fierce spirit of independence had very reluctantly condescended to obey. The confusion and the danger was increased by a mercenary band of Greeks, who, harassed by the fatigues of war and travelling, always clamorous for pay, which was very irregularly paid them, and perhaps jealous of the Macedonians, seized the present opportunity to desert the standard of Philip, and to reinforce the arms of the Triballi*.

Alexander
saves the
life of his
father,

The King of Macedon, too prudent to undertake superfluous danger, never acquired by valour what might be obtained by stratagem; but when a necessary occasion sollicit his courage and his prowess, he knew how to assume the hero, and (if we may transpose an ancient proverb) "to take out the fox's with the lion's skin."† The urgency of the present emergency confirmed all the firmness of his mind. With his sword and arm, he encouraged the astonished and disheartened Macedonians; conducted his father's guard to the heat of the battle, and fought with such amplified bravery, till the same weapon which pierced

* Justin. l. ix. c. iii. Plut. in Alexand.

† Vid. Plut. in Lysand.

his horse, laid the rider senseless on the ground. CHAP. XXXVI.
 The young Alexander, who fought near him, derived peculiar glory from saving the life of his father, whom he covered with his shield, and defended by his sword, until his attendants conveyed him to a place of safety*; the son so worthily succeeding to the command, that the tumult was fortunately appeased, and the Barbarians routed and put to flight. Philip's wound was attended with an incurable lameness, which he bore with much impatience. His magnanimous son endeavoured to remove his chagrin, by asking, how he could be vexed at an accident, which continually reminded him of his valour?

and de-
feats the
Triballi.

To repair the effects of this unforeseen delay, the Macedonians hastened through Thrace, where Philip, as he had reason to expect, was met by deputies from the Amphictyonic council, appointing him general of their forces, and requesting him to march into Greece with all convenient speed. The secret practices and intrigues, which had been ripening during the Scythian expedition, produced this extraordinary message, the remote as well as immediate causes of which deserve to be distinctly unravelled, being the last knot of a tragedy which involves the fate of Greece.

The spirited resistance of Selymbria and Byzantium, the successful expeditions of Phocion in the Hellespont and Propontis, the prodigal terrors of Darius King of Persia, who thought it impossible to

The situa-
tion of
Philip's
affairs en-
courages
the Athe-

* Plut. de Fortun. Alexand. & Justin. l. ix. c. iiii.

† Plut. in Alexand.

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ians to
exert
them-
selves
with vi-
gour.
Olymp.
cx. 2.
A. C. 339.

employ his wealth more usefully; than in building the ambition of Philip; above all, the continual expostulations and remonstrances of Demosthenes, conspired to rouse the Athenians from the lethargy in which they had been long sunk, and animated them with a desire to carry on the war with activity and effect against the common enemy of Greece.

In order to save the state, they consented (though probably not without a violent struggle) to abolish the very popular law, or rather abuse, introduced by Eubulus. The theatrical amusements so passionately idolised by the multitude, were celebrated with less pomp and splendour; and the military fund was thenceforth applied to its original and proper destination. A fleet was equipped far superior to the naval strength of Macedon*. The troops and partisans of that kingdom were driven from their ambushes in Megara, and in the neighbouring territories, where they had long watched an opportunity of destroying the liberty of Athens. Demosthenes, and Hyperides, an orator, second only to Demosthenes, were dispatched into the Peloponnesus and other parts of Greece, to persuade the several republics to second the generous ardour of the Athenians, whose recent success under Phocion added great weight to the arguments and eloquence of these illustrious statesmen.

Difficul-
ties with
which
Philip had
to strug-
gle.

Philip was accurately informed of all these transactions; and the alarm universally spread among his faithful emissaries, inclined them rather to exaggerate than to conceal the danger. Highly

* Demosthen. de Corona.

† Idem, ibid.

provoked against the Athenians, the continual opposers of his greatness, he was unable to retaliate their injuries. If he attacked them by land, he must march through the territories of the Thebans and Thesalians, who, ever selfish and capricious, would be ready to forsake him on the first reverse of fortune. His disgraceful expedition against the cities of the Propontis, rendered the present juncture extremely unfavourable to such a hazardous design. Nor could he attempt, with any prospect of success, to attack the enemy by sea, since the Athenian fleet so far exceeded his own, that it had interrupted, and almost totally destroyed, the commerce of Macedon.

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Amidst this complication of difficulties, Philip shewed how well he understood the unsteady temper of the Greeks, by raising the siege of Byzantium, and burying himself in the wilds of Scythia, till the fuming animosity of his adversaries had time to evaporate. Not venturing on open hostility, he, meanwhile, employed two secret engines, which continued to work during his absence, and from which he had reason to expect very signal advantages before his return. There lived at Athens a man of the name of Antiphon, bold, loud, and loquacious in the popular assembly, in which, however, he had not a title to vote, much less to speak, his name not being recorded in the public register of the city. This defect passed long unobserved, through that supine negligence with which Demosthenes so frequently upbraids his countrymen. At length the treason of Antiphon (for the Athenians

His intrigues with the incendiary Antiphon.

CHAPTER XXXVI. regarded an unqualified voter in the assembly as an usurper of sovereign power) was discovered, and arraigned by one of the many citizens to whom his insolence and calumny had justly rendered him obnoxious; in consequence of which impeached, the supposititious Athenian was divested of his borrowed character, and driven with ignominy from a country, whose most sacred honours he had so unworthily assumed. Stung with disappointment and rage, Antiphon had recourse to the king of Macedon, and offered himself for any enterprise, however bloody or desperate, by which, in serving the interest of Philip, he might gratify his own thirst for vengeance. The ambitious Macedonian kept his ends too steadily in view, and pursued them with too much ardour and perseverance, to be very delicate in choosing the means by which he might distress his adversaries. He greedily closed, therefore, with the proposal of Antiphon, in whom he rejoiced to find an instrument so fit for his service.

who attempts to set fire to the Athenian docks.

The superiority of the Athenians by sea, which their actual diligence in their docks and arsenals showed them determined to maintain and increase, formed the chief obstacle to the grandeur of Macedon. By whom the design was suggested, is unknown; but it was agreed between Philip and Antiphon, that the latter should return to Athens in disguise, intimate himself into the Phœnx, and lie there in concealment, until he found an opportunity to set fire to the Athenian docks, and thus destroy at once the main hope of the republic.

While the artful King of Macedon eluded the storm of his enemies by wandering in the woods of Scythia, his perfidious accomplice lurked, like a serpent in the bosom of Athens, being lodged without suspicion in the harbour which glowed with the ardour of naval preparation, and into which were daily accumulated new masses of tar, timber, and other materials, alike proper for a fleet, and for the purpose of Antiphon.

But the vigilance of Demosthenes discovered this desperate design, when on the point of execution. He immediately flew to the Piræus, dragged Antiphon from his concealment, divested him of his disguise, and produced him at the bar of the assembly. The capricious and deluded multitude, alike prone to anger and to compassion, were on this occasion very differently affected from what might be conjectured. Instead of execrating a wretch capable of such black deeds, they beheld, with pity, a man once regarded as their fellow-citizen, brought before them after a long absence, and accused, perhaps on vain presumptions, of such a horrid crime. They knew besides the wicked artifices of their orators, who, to increase their own importance, often terrified the public with false alarms and imaginary dangers. *Eschines*, and other partisans of Philip, were at hand to strengthen these impressions. They represented the whole transaction of Demosthenes as a compilation of fraud and cruelty; loudly inveighed against his insolent triumph over the calamities of the unfortunate; and reproached his entering by force into the house

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The design detected by Demosthenes.

CHAP. where Antiphon was concealed; as a violation of
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freedom pregnant with the most dangerous consequences, and as trampling on the respected maxim of Athenian law and religion, that every man's house was his sanctuary*. Such was the effect of these clamours, that Antiphon was dismissed without the formality of a trial, and might, perhaps, have resumed his purpose with more security than before, had not the wiser senate of the Areopagus thought fit carefully to examine the information of Demosthenes. By the authority of that court, the traitor was again seized, and tried. Torture, which the institution of domestic slavery introduced and rendered familiar in Greece, extorted from him a late and reluctant confession; and his enormous guilt was punished with an enormous severity†.

Philip's
intrigues
for em-
broiling
the affairs
of Greece.

Had the detestable enterprise of Antiphon been crowned with ill-merited success, Philip would have attained his purpose of ruining Athens, by a rude stroke of vulgar perfidy. But the engines which he set in motion for gaining the same end, at a time when he was obliged to fly the awakened resentment of Greece, and to bury in the wilds of Scythia the disgrace sustained before the walls of Byzantium, will not be easily matched by any parallel transactions in history, whether we consider the profound artifice with which the plan was contrived and combined, the nice adaptation of the several parts, or the unwearied dexterity with which

* Lysias passim in Agorat. & Eratosth.

† Demosthenes de Coron. who gives the honourable account of his own conduct described in the text.

the whole was carried into execution. It is on CHAP. XXXVI.
 this occasion that Demosthenes might justly ex-
 claim, "In one circumstance, chiefly, is Philip
 distinguished above all his ambitious predecessors,
 the enemies of Grecian freedom. His measures
 required the co-operation of traitors, and traitors
 he has found more corrupt and more dexterous
 than ever appeared in any former age; and, what
 is most worthy of remark, the principal instru-
 ments of his ambition were fashioned in the bosom
 of that state, whose public councils most openly
 opposed his greatness*.

The time approached for convening at Delphi His parti-
sana sent
from
Athens as
deputies
to the Am-
phictyons.
 the vernal assembly of the Amphictyons. It was
 evidently the interest of the Athenians, and might
 have been expected from their just resentment
 against Philip, that they should send such depu-
 ties to the city of Apollo, as were most hostile to
 the Macedonian, and most zealous in the cause
 of liberty and their country. But intrigue and
 cabal prevailed over every motive of public utility;
 and the negligent or factious multitude were per-
 suaded, at a crisis which demanded the most faith-
 ful and incorrupt ministers, to employ, as their
 representatives in the Amphictyonic council, Æs-
 chines and Midias; the former of whom had so
 often reproached, and the latter had, on one occa-
 sion, struck Demosthenes in the public theatre;
 and who were both not only the declared enemies

* Demosth. de Coron.

† Demosth. in Mid. & Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

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of this illustrious patriot, but, as well as their colleagues Diognetus and Thrasicles, the warm and active partisans of the King of Macedonia. Soon after their arrival at Delphi, Midias and Diognetus* pretended sickness, that they might allow Eschines to display, uncontrolled, his superior dexterity; and to act a part, which, requiring the deepest dissimulation, might be performed most successfully by a single traitor. The Amphictyons were employed in repairing the temple; the sacred offerings, which had been removed and sold by the impiety of the Phocians, were collected from every quarter of Greece; and new presents were made by several states, to supply the place of the old, which could not be recovered.

Who present a dedication to the temple highly offensive to the Thebans.

The Athenians particularly signalised their pious munificence, and sent, among other dedications, several golden shields, with the following inscription: "Taken from the Medes and Thebans, when they fought against Greece." This offering, highly offensive to the Theban deputies, was prematurely suspended in the temple; the Thebans murmured, the Amphictyons listened to their complaints, and it was whispered in the council, that the Athenians deserved punishment for presenting their gift to the god, before it had been regularly consecrated, together with the other offerings. Pretending high indignation at these murmurs, Eschi-

* Eschines says, *Διογένης ἀρρώστησεν*; "That Diognetus was seized with a fever, and that the same misfortune happened to Midias," p. 290.

ness rushed into the assembly, and began a formal, CH A P.
yet spirited defence of his countrymen; when he XXXVI.
was rudely interrupted by a Locrian, of Amphissai, a city eight miles distant from Delphi, which growing populous and powerful on the ruins of Crissa and Cirrha, had ventured to cultivate the Cithæron plain, which, near three centuries before, had been desolated by the Amphictyons, solemnly consecrated to Apollo, and devoted to perpetual sterility.

The ardent Locrian, affecting a religious zeal not less ardent than the patriotism of Æschines, clamorously interrupted that orator, calling aloud in the assembly, that it ill became the dignity of the Amphictyons to hear with patience the justification, much less the praises of Athens, a city impious and profane, which, in defiance of human and divine laws, had so recently abetted the execrable sacrilege of the Phocians; that if the Amphictyons followed his advice, or consulted the dictates of duty and honour, they would not allow the detested name of the Athenians to be mentioned in that august council.

The Athenians reproached by the deputy of Amphissa.

ο Αμφισσαῖος ἐν τῇ συνέλευσιν, καὶ προθυμοτέρου παρὰ νομιμότητα πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον.

Æschin. p. 290.

† Æschines varnishes the story with inimitable address; ἀνελκόμενος γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἀνελκόμενος, καὶ ὡς ἐμοὶ φάνητο νόμιμα παρὰ τὴν μισθολογίαν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀλκιμίας τῆς ἐξ ἀλκιμότητος αὐτὸν προσηύδα. "He was interrupted by the vociferation of a certain Amphisæan, a man the most impudent, totally illiterate, and perhaps impelled to folly by some offended dignity."

‡ See, these events particularly related, vol. i. c. v. p. 212.

§ Æschin in Ctesiphont.

C H A P.

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Eschines
inveighs
against the
Locrians
for culti-
vating the
Cirrhean
plain;

Eschines then obtained an opportunity of exciting such tumults in the assembly, as suited the views of Philip. In the ardour of patriotic indignation, which he knew so well to assume, he poured forth a torrent of impetuous invective against the insolent Locrian, and his city Amphissa; not only justified the interference, but displayed with ostentation the illustrious merit of the Athenians; and then addressing the Amphictyons with a look peculiarly earnest and expressive, "Sirs, ye Greeks! all men who never knew the exalted pleasures of virtue and renown, be suffered to tear from us the inestimable rewards of glory, so justly earned? Shall men, themselves polluted by sacrilege, and already devoted to destruction by the most awful imprecations, presume to call the Athenians profane and impious? Look down, ye reverend guardians of religion! look down on that plain (pointing to the Cirrhean plain, which might be seen from the temple), behold these lands anciently devoted to the god, but now appropriated and cultivated by the Amphisseans; behold the numerous

* Demosthen. de Corona.

† The persuasive energy with which Eschines defends his treachery, or rather displays his patriotism, on this occasion is remembered by any thing in Demosthenes himself. Had the works of the latter perished, the two orations of Eschines (de falsa Legatione, and in Cleophontem) would have been justly regarded as the most perfect models of eloquence produced by human genius. And the merit, and even the name of Eschines, are eclipsed in the fame of his rival. So disproportionate are the rewards of acting a first and a second part, and so just the place of advice to all candidates for future suc-

Αὐτὸν ἀρετῶν καὶ ὑπερχοῦ τιμῶναι ἀλλὰ.

buildings which they have erected there; and that G. H. A. P.
accursed port of Cirrha, justly demolished by our XXXVI.
ancestors, now rebuilt and fortified? *Eschines*
here reads the oracle of Apollo, which condemned
that harboured these lands to perpetual desolation.
Then proceeding with increased vehemence: "For
myself, ye Grecians! I swear, that I in person, my
children, my country, will discharge our duty to
heaven; and, with all the powers and faculties of
mind and body, avenge the abominable violation of
the consecrated territory. Do you, Amphictyons!
determine as wisdom shall direct. Your offerings
are prepared; your victims are brought to the altar;
you are ready to offer solemn prayers for blessings
on yourselves, and on the republics which you re-
present. But consider with what voice, with what
heart, with what confidence, you can breathe out
your petitions, while you suffer the profanation of
the Amphissians to pass unavenged. Hear the
words of the imprecation, not only against those
who cultivate the consecrated ground, but against
those who neglect to punish them: "May they
never present an acceptable offering to Apollo,
Diana, Latona, or Minerva the provident; but may
all their sacrifices and religious rites be for ever
rejected and abhorred!"

The warmth of *Eschines* occasioned the utmost
confusion in the assembly. The golden shields irre-
gularly dedicated by the Athenians, were no longer
the subject of discourse. This slight impropriety
which ex-
cites the
third sa-
cred war.

* Pausanias Phœciæ, & *Eschin.* in Ctesiphont.

C. H. A. P. disappeared amidst the enormous impetion of the
 XXXVI Amphisseans; which had been so formidably painted to

the superstitious fancies of the terrified multitude.

It was determined, after violent contentions between those who accused, and those who defended, this unhappy people, that the Amphictyons, having summoned the assistance of the citizens of Delphi, should next day repair to the Cirrhean plain, in order to burn, cut down, and destroy the houses and plantations, which had so long adorned and defiled that devoted territory. The ravagers met with little opposition in performing this pious devastation; but as they returned towards the temple, they were overtaken and assaulted by a numerous party of Amphisseans, who threw them into disorder, made several prisoners, and pursued the rest to Delphi. The signal of war was now raised; the insulted Amphictyons, in whose persons the sanctity of religion had been violated, complained to their respective republics, while the recent audacity of the Amphisseans aggravated their ancient crimes and enormities.

But agreeably to the languor inherent in councils which possess only a delegated authority, the measures of the Amphictyons were extremely slow and irresolute; and when they at length raised an army under the command of Cottyphus, a Thessalian, and a creature of Philip's, their operations were ill conducted and unsuccessful.

The amphictyons appoint

the affairs were thus brought to the issue which had been expected by Achilles, and the accomplices

who assisted him in promoting the interest of the King of Macedonia. They loudly declaimed in the council against the lukewarm indifference of the Grecian states in a war which so deeply concerned the national religion. It became the Amphyctyons, therefore, as the ministers of Apollo and the guardians of his temple, to seek out and employ some more powerful instrument of the divine vengeance. Philip of Macedonia had formerly given proof of his pious zeal in the Phocian war. That prince was now returning in triumph from his Scythian expedition. His assistance must again be demanded (nor would it be demanded in vain) to defend the cause of Apollo and the sacred shrine. This proposal being approved, a deputation of the Amphyctyons met Philip in Thrace. He received their welcome message with well-affected surprise, but declared his veneration for the commands of the council, which he should be even ready to obey.

The vigilant prince had already taken proper measures for acting as general of the Amphyctyons, and provided a sufficient number of transports to convey his army into Greece. He understood that notwithstanding the intrigues of Aeschines and his associates, the Athenians had been persuaded by Demosthenes to oppose his design, and that his admirals Chares and Proxenus prepared to intercept his passage with a superior naval force. To surmount this opposition, Philip employed a stratagem. At

* Aeschines to Cleopatra

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light brigantine was dispatched to Macedonia with letters of such import as gave reason to believe that he purposed immediately returning into Thrace*. Besides writing to Antipater, his principal confident and minister, he took care to make his artifice, by sending letters to his Queen Olympias. The brigantine fell designedly into the hands of the Athenians. The dispatches were seized and read; but the letter for the Queen was politely forwarded to its destination†. The Athenian admirals quitted their station, and Philip arrived, without opposition, on the coast of Locris, from whence he proceeded to Delphi.

Philip defeats the Athenian mercenaries, and takes possession of Amphissa.

Though the Macedonians alone were far more numerous than seemed necessary for the reduction of Amphissa, the King, in the month of November, dispatched circular letters through most parts of Greece, requiring from the Thebans, Peloponnesians, and other states, the assistance of their combined arms to maintain the cause of the Amphictyons and Apollo. The Thebans, rather intimidated by a powerful army in their neighbourhood, than inclined to the Macedonians, of whose designs they had lately become extremely jealous, sent a small body of infantry to join the standard of Philip. The Lacedæmonians, long disgusted with the measures of Greece, and envying the power of Macedonia, which they had not public spirit to oppose; beheld all recent transactions with a contemptuous disregard, obstinate in their per-

* Polyæn. l. iv. c. 13.

† Plut. in Demet.

poor of preserving a sullen neutrality. The Athenians, awakened by the activity of Demosthenes to a sense of their danger, opposed Philip with ten thousand mercenaries, despising the threats of the oracle against those who took part with the impious Amphissians. The orator boldly accused the Pythian priestess and her ministers of being bribed to Philip, or to prophecy as might best suit the interest of Philip; while Eschines, on the other hand, accused his adversary of having received a thousand drachmas, and an annual pension of twenty minæ, to abet the impiety of Amphissa*. The King of Macedon, without waiting for any farther reinforcement than that which he had received from the Thebans, besieged, took, and garrisoned that unfortunate city; and having routed and put to flight the Athenian mercenaries, spread the terror of his arms round all the neighbouring territory†.

The news of these events occasioned dreadful consternation in Athens. The terrified citizens, who could not be persuaded to tear themselves from their beloved pleasures in order to defend Amphissa, believed the moment approaching when they must defend their own walls against the victorious invader. After less altercation and delay than usually prevailed in their councils, they sent an embassy to Philip, praying a suspension of hostilities, and, at the same time, dispatched their ablest orators to rouse the Greeks from their supine negligence, and

The Athenians, while they negotiate with Philip, raise a confederacy against that prince.

* Eschin. in Ctesiphont.

† Demosthen. de Corona.

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to animate and unite them against a Barbarian who, under pretence of avenging the offended divinity of Apollo, meditated the subjugation of their common country. Megara, Eubœa, Leucas, Corinth, Cœcyra, and Achaia, favourably received the ambassadors, and readily entered into a league against Macedon. Thebes fluctuated in uncertainty, hating the Athenians as rivals, and dreading Philip as a tyrant. The situation of the Theban territory, through which Philip must march before he could invade Attica, rendered the decision of that people peculiarly important*. To gain or to retain their friendship, the intrigues of Philip, the eloquence of Athens, had been employed with unwearied assiduity. The Thebans temporised, deliberated, resolved, and changed their resolutions. The partisans of Athens were most numerous, those of Macedon most active, while the great body of the Theban people heard the clamours and arguments of both parties with a stupid indifference and took their measures with such lethargic slowness, as disgraced even the heavy character of Boeotians†.

Philip
seizes
Elatæa.
Olymp.
ex 3.
A. C. 338.

To fix their wavering irresolution, and to awaken their dull insensibility, Philip at length had recourse to the strong impression of terror. From the general wreck of Phocis, his foresight and policy had spared the walls of Elatæa, a city important by its situation between two ranges of mountains, which opened into Phocis and Boeotia. The ci-

* Diodor. l. xvi. p. 475.

† Demosthen. de Corœ.

which was built on an eminence, washed by the river Cephissus, which flowed in a winding course through Boeotia into the lake Copais; a broad expanse of water, which, by several navigable streams, communicated with Attica. This valuable post, conveniently situate for receiving reinforcements from Thessaly and Macedon, commanding the passage into Boeotia, distant only two days march from Attica, and which, being garrisoned by a powerful army, might continually alarm the safety both of Thebes and of Athens, Philip seized with equal boldness and celerity*, drew the greater part of his troops thither, repaired and strengthened the walls of the place, and having thus secured himself from surprise, watched a favourable opportunity of inflicting punishment on the Athenians, who had given him sufficient ground to represent them as the enemies of the Amphictyonic council, by whose authority the King of Macedon affected to be guided in all his operations.

We are not informed of the immediate effect of this vigorous measure on the resolutions of the Thebans; but the terror and consternation of the uncorrupt part of the citizens may be conjectured by what happened on the same occasion at Athens. It was late in the evening when a courier arrived with the melancholy tidings that Philip had taken possession of Elatæa. The people had retired to their houses; the magistrates supped in the Prytanæum; but in a moment all were abroad.

* See also, & Demosth. ubi supra.

† Echin. in Ctesiphont.

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Some hastened to the generals; others went in quest of the officer* whose business it was to summon the citizens to council; most flocked to the market place; and in order to make room for the assembly, pulled down or burned the temporary wooden edifices erected by the tradesmen or artificers who exposed their wares to sale in that spacious square. Before dawn the confusion ceased; the citizens were all assembled; the senators took their places; the president reported to them the alarming intelligence that had been received. The herald then proclaimed with a loud voice, "That he, who had any thing to offer on the present emergency, should mount the rostrum, and propose his advice. The invitation, though frequently repeated, was received with silence and dismay. The magistrates, the generals, the demagogues, were all present; but none obeyed the summons of the herald, which Demosthenes calls the voice of their country imploring the assistance of her children†.

Demosthenes ex-
horts the
Athenians
to oppose
Philip to
the ut-
most of
their pow-
er by sea
and land.

At length that accomplished orator arose, and obtained the noblest triumph of patriotism; by urging, amidst universal consternation, an advice prudent, generous, and successful. He began by darting a ray of hope into the desponding citizens, and assuring them that were not the Thebans, the greater part at least of the Thebans, hostile to

* Τοι σπλιτηντι πλαισι, De Corona p. 317.

† Κιλλωνος δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν πατρίδα φωνῆς τὸν αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος ὅστις κατὰ τὴν πόλιν φωνῆν ἀρῶντι, ὡς οὐκ ἀποφύγετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει, p. 317. The passage that follows has been often cited, and can never be too much studied, as one of the finest examples of oratorical narration.

Philip, that prince would not be actually posted at Elatea, but on the Athenian frontier. He exhorted his countrymen to shake off the unmanly terror which had surprised them; and, instead of fearing for themselves, to fear only for their neighbours, whose territories were more immediately threatened, and who must sustain the first shock of the invasion. "Let your forces," continued he, "immediately march to Eleusis, in order to show the Thebans, and all Greece, that as those who have sold their country are supported by the Macedonian forces at Elatea, so you are ready to defend with your hereditary courage and fortune those who fight for liberty. Let ambassadors at the same time be sent to Thebes, to remind that republic of the good offices conferred by your ancestors; to assure the Thebans, that you do not consider them as aliens; that the people of Athens have forgot all recent hostilities with the citizens of Greece, and will never forsake the cause of their common country, which is actually, in a peculiar manner, the cause of Thebes. To this community, therefore, offer your most disinterested services. To make any demand for yourselves, would be highly improper in the present juncture. Assure them that you are deeply affected by their danger, and prepared generously to defend them to the utmost of your power."

These proposals being received with general approbation, Demosthenes drew up a formal decree

The decree
for that
purpose,
dated
Augusti

stances of his injustice and lust of power, the orator concludes, " For such reasons, the senate and people of Athens, emulating the glory of their ancestors, to whom the liberty of Greece was ever dearer than the interest of their particular republic, and humbly revering the gods and heroes, guardians of the Athenian city and territory, whose aid they now implore, have resolved to send to the coast of Boeotia a fleet of two hundred sail, to march to Eleusis with their whole military strength, to dispatch ambassadors to the several states of Greece, and particularly to the Thebans, encouraging them to remain unterrified amidst the dangers which threaten them, and to exert themselves manfully in defence of the common cause, with assurance that the people of Athens, unmindful of old or later differences which have prevailed between the two republics, are determined and ready to support them with all their faculties and resources; their treasures, their navies, and their arms; well knowing, that to contend for pre-eminence with the Greeks is an honourable contest; but to be commanded by a foreigner, and to suffer a Barbarian to wrest the sovereignty from their hands, would tarnish their hereditary glory, and disgrace their country with the remotest ages of posterity."

The same undaunted spirit which dictated this decree, attended the exertions of Demosthenes in his embassy to Thebes, in which he triumphed over the intrigues of Amyntas and Clearchus, and over the eloquence of Philon of Byzantium, the emissaries employed by Philip on this important

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Demosthenes persuades the Thebans to join the standard of Athens.

CHAP. occasion. The Thebans passed a decree for receiv-
 XXXVI ing with gratitude the proffered assistance of Athens;
 and the Athenian army having soon after taken the
 field, were admitted within the Theban walls, and
 treated with all the flattering distinctions of an-
 cient hospitality*.

Prepara-
 tions on
 both sides
 for the
 battle of
 Chæro-
 næa.

Meanwhile Philip having advanced towards the
 Bœotian frontier, his detached parties were foiled
 in two rencounters with the confederates. Regard-
 less of these losses, to which, perhaps, he pur-
 posely submitted, as necessary stratagems to draw
 the enemy from their walls, he proceeded with his
 main body, thirtytwo-thousand strong, to the plain
 of Chæronæa. This place was considered by Phi-
 lip as well adapted to the evolutions and exertions
 of the Macedonian phalanx; and the ground for
 his encampment, and afterwards the field of battle,
 were chosen with equal sagacity; having in view,
 on one side a temple of Hercules, whom the Mace-
 donians regarded as the author of their royal house,
 and the high protector of their fortune; and, on
 the other, the banks of the Thermodon, a small
 river flowing into the Cephissus, announced by the
 oracles of Greece as the destined scene of desola-
 tion and wo, to their unhappy country†. The
 generals of the confederate Greeks had been much
 less careful to avail themselves of the powerful

* Demosthenes, who furnishes the above narrative, avoids dwelling on
 the following melancholy events, which are related by *Strabo*,
lvi. p. 476, & *seqq.*; *Plut. in Alexand. Strabo. l. ix. p. 414*, *Justin. l.*
ix. c. iii & *Pausanias Bœotic.*

† *Plut. in Vit. Demosth.*

sections of superstition. Unrestrained by inauspicious sacrifices, the Athenians had left their city at the exhortation of Demosthenes, to wait no other omen but the cause of their country. Regardless of oracles, they afterwards advanced to the ill-fated Thermodon, accompanied by the Thebans, and the scanty reinforcements raised by the islands, and by such states of Peloponnesus as had joined their alliance. Their army amounted to thirty thousand men, animated by the noblest cause for which men can fight, but commanded by the Athenians, Lysicles and Chares, the first but little, and the second unfavourably, known; and by Theagenes the Theban, a person strongly suspected of treachery; all three creatures of cabal, and tools of faction, slaves to interest or voluptuousness, whose characters (especially as they had been appointed to command the only states whose shame, rather than virtue, yet opposed the public enemy) are alone sufficient to prove that Greece was ripe for ruin.

When the day approached for abolishing the tottering independence of those turbulent republics, which their own internal vices, and the arms and intrigues of Philip, had been gradually undermining for twenty-two years, both armies formed in battle array before the rising of the sun. The right wing of the Macedonians was headed by Philip, who judged proper to oppose in person the dangerous fury of the Athenians. His son Alexander, only nineteen years of age, but surrounded by experienced officers, commanded the left wing, which

Alexander
routs the
Thebans.

CHAP. XXXVI. faced the Sacred Band of the Thebans. The auxiliaries of either army were posted in the centre. In the beginning of the action, the Athenians charged with impetuosity, and repelled the opposing divisions of the enemy; but the youthful ardour of Alexander obliged the Thebans to retire, the Sacred Band being cut down to a man. The activity of the young prince completed their disorder, and pursued the scattered multitude with his Thebanian cavalry.

Philip de-
feats the
Athenians.

Meantime the Athenian generals, too much elated by their first advantage, lost the opportunity to improve it; for, having repelled the centre and right wing of the Macedonians, except the phalanx, which was composed of chosen men, and immediately commanded by the King, they, instead of attempting to break this formidable body, by attacking it in flank, pressed forward against the fugitives, the innocent Lysicles exclaiming in vain triumph, "Pursue, my brave countrymen! let us drive the cowards to Macedon." Philip observed this rash folly with contempt, and, saying to those around him, "Our enemies know not how to conquer," commanded his phalanx, by a rapid evolution, to gain an adjacent eminence, from which they poured down, firm and collected, on the advancing Athenians, whose confidence of success had rendered them totally insensible to danger. But the relentless shock of the Macedonian spear converted their fury into despair. Above a thou-

* Plutarch. in Alexand.

† Polyen. Strategem. l. iv. c. ii.

and fell, two thousand were taken prisoners; the rest escaped by a precipitate and shameful flight. Of the Thebans more were killed than taken. Few of the confederates perished, as they had little share in the action, and as Philip, perceiving his victory to be complete, gave orders to spare the vanquished, with a clemency unusual in that age, and not less honourable to his understanding than his heart, since his humanity thus subdued the minds, and gained the affections, of his conquered enemies*.

According to the Grecian custom, the battle was followed by an entertainment, at which the King, Philip visits the field of battle. presiding in person, received the congratulations of his friends, and the humble supplications of the Athenian deputies, who craved the bodies of their slain. This request which served as an acknowledgment of their defeat, was readily granted; but, before they availed themselves of the permission to carry off their dead, Philip, who with his natural interperance, had protracted the entertainment till morning, issued forth with his licentious companions to visit the field of battle; their heads crowned with festive garlands, their minds intoxicated with the insolence of wine and victory; yet the sight of the slaughtered Thebans, which first presented itself to their eyes, and particularly the second band of friends and lovers, who lay covered with honourable wounds, on the spot where they had been drawn up to fight, brought back these

* Pausan. Achaic. Diodor. & Justin. ubi supra.

O. H. A. P. insolent spectators to the sentiments of reason and
 XXXVI. humanity. Philip beheld the awful scene with a
 mixture of admiration and pity; and, after an affecting silence, denounced a solemn curse against those who basely suspected the friendship of such brave men to be tainted with criminal and infamous passions*.

His levity
 reprimanded by
 Demades.

But this serious temper of mind did not last long; for, having proceeded to that quarter of the field where the Athenians had fought and fallen, the King abandoned himself to all the levity and littleness of the most petulant joy. Instead of being impressed with a deep sense of his recent danger, and with dutiful gratitude to Heaven for the happiness of his escape, and the importance of his victory, Philip only compared the boastful pretensions with the mean performances of his Athenian enemies; and struck by this contrast, rehearsed, with the insolent mockery of a buffoon, the pompous declaration of war lately drawn up by the ardent patriotism and too sanguine hopes of Demosthenes. It was on this occasion that the orator Demades at once rebuked the folly, and flattered the ambition of Philip, by asking him, Why he assumed the character of Thersites, when fortune assigned him the part of Agamemnon†?

The different treatment of the Athenians and Thebans.

Whatever might be the effect of this sharp reprimand, it is certain that the King of Macedonia indulged not, on any future occasion, a vain

* Plutarch. in Pelopid.

† Idem in Demosthen.

‡ Plutarch ascribes, to this smart observation, the moderation of Philip's subsequent conduct.

triumph over the vanquished. When advised by CHAP.
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his generals to advance into Attica, and to render himself master of Athens, he calmly replied, "Have I done so much for glory, and shall I destroy the theatre of that glory?" His subsequent conduct corresponded with the moderation of this sentiment. He restored, without ransom, the Athenian prisoners; who, at departing, having demanded their baggage, were also gratified in this particular; the King pleasantly observing, that the Athenians seemed to think he had not conquered them in earnest. Soon afterwards he dispatched his son Alexander, and Antipater, the most trusted of his ministers, to offer them peace on such favourable terms as they had little reason to expect. They were required to send deputies to the Isthmus of Corinth, where, to adjust their respective contingents of troops for the Persian expedition, Philip purposed assembling, early in the spring, a general convention of all the Grecian states: they were ordered to surrender the isle of Samos, which actually formed the principal station of their fleet, and the main bulwark and defence of all their maritime or insular possessions; but they were allowed to enjoy, unmolested, the Attic territory, with their hereditary form of government, and flattered by the acquisition of Oropus, for which they had so long contended with the unhappy Thebans. It was not merely in being

* Plut. in Apoph.

† Idem. ibid.

‡ Pausanias Bœotice. Diodorus, ubi supra.

C H A P. deprived of this city, that the Thebans experienced
XXXVI the indignation of the conqueror. From the trans-
 actions between Macedon and Thebes, in the early
 part of his reign, Philip thought himself entitled to
 treat that people, not as open and generous enemies,
 whose struggle for freedom deserved his clemency,
 but as faithless and insidious rebels, who merited
 all the severity of his justice. He punished the re-
 publican party with unrelenting vigour; restored
 the traitors, whom they had banished, to the first
 honours of the republic; and, in order to support
 their government, placed a Macedonian garrison
 in the Theban citadel*.

Causes
 from
 which it
 proceed-
 ed.

In his opposite treatment of the two republics,
 Philip, it is probable, was swayed neither by af-
 fection nor hatred; his generosity and his rigour
 were alike artificial, and both directed by his in-
 terest. Besides the different characters of the The-
 bans and Athenians, which rendered the former as
 sensible to the impression of fear, as the latter were
 susceptible of gratitude and prone to eulogy, the
 Thebans had too long, and too early abandoned the
 cause of Greece, and too strenuously exerted them-
 selves in establishing the power of Macedon, to ac-
 quire much reputation by one unsuccessful attempt
 to resist Philip; to which they had been at length
 roused less by their own public spirit or courage,
 than by the zeal and eloquence of Demosthenes.
 The Athenians, on the contrary, who from the
 beginning had opposed the views of this prince,

* Justin. l. ix. c. ix.

though with far less prudence and activity than their situation required; who, through the whole course of his reign, had continued to traverse his measures, and to spurn his authority; and who, previously to the last fatal encounter at Chaeronea, had endeavoured to form a general confederacy, and when that proved impossible, had determined, almost unassisted and alone, to resist the common foe, seemed entitled to such gratitude and applause, as compassion bestows on ill-directed valour and unfortunate patriotism; and the rigorous treatment of such a people must have shocked the sentiments, and exasperated the hatred, of every citizen of Greece, who yet retained the faintest tincture of ancient principles, or who was still animated by the smallest spark of public spirit.

Philip too well understood his interest, thus to tarnish the glory, and risk the fruits of victory; although the daring and imprudent behaviour of the Athenians, after the battle, might have served to justify the harshest measures. The first news of their defeat filled the city with tumult or consternation. But when the disorder ceased, the people shewed themselves disposed to place their whole confidence in arms, none in the mercy of Philip. Upon the motion of Hyperides*, a decree passed for sending to the Piræus their wives, children, and most valuable effects, together with the sacred images and ornaments of their gods. By the same decree, the rights and freedom of the

* Plut. in Vita Hyperid.

CHAP. city were bestowed on strangers and slaves; and
 XXXVI restored to persons declared infamous, on this one
 condition, that they exerted themselves in the pub-
 lic defence. Demosthenes, with equal success,
 proposed a decree for repairing the walls and forti-
 fications, a work which, being himself appointed
 to superintend, he generously accomplished at the
 expense of his private fortune.* The orator
 Lycurgus undertook the more easy task of in-
 preaching the worthless Lysicles, whose misconduct
 in the day of battle had been the immediate cause
 of the late fatal disaster. In a discourse calcula-
 ted to revive the spirit of military enthusiasm, which
 had anciently animated the Athenians, the speaker
 thus warmly apostrophised the conscious guilt of
 the mute and trembling general: "The Athe-
 nians have been totally defeated in an engage-
 ment; the enemy have erected a trophy to the
 eternal dishonour of Athens; and Greece is now
 prepared to receive the detested yoke of servitude.
 You were our commander on that inglorious day;
 and still you breathe the vital air; enjoy the light
 of the sun, and appear in our public places, a
 living monument of the disgrace and ruin of your
 country." The quick resentment of the hearers
 supplied the consequence, and the criminal was
 dragged to execution†.

Philip's
 modera-
 tion in
 victory

Neither the inflammatory decrees, nor the hostile
 preparations, of Athens, could shake the modera-
 tion of Philip, or determine him to enter the

* Demosth. de Corone.

† Diodor. l. xii. c. 27.

favourable terms of accommodation, which he had C H A P.
 already proposed by his ambassadors. The pa- XXXVI
 triotic or republican party, headed by the orators
 just mentioned, breathed hatred and revenge; but
 at the intercession of the Areopagus, which on this
 occasion acted suitably to the fame of its ancient
 wisdom, the prudent and virtuous Phocion* was
 appointed to the chief command. The discern-
 ment of this statesman and general, whose merit
 had been neglected while there was yet time to
 perform any essential service, might easily perceive
 the vanity of attempting to recover the honour of
 a people who, antecedently to their defeat by
 Philip, had been still more fatally subdued by
 their own pernicious vices. Amidst the important
 events of the Macedonian war, and amidst the
 dreadful misfortunes which, in consequence of its
 melancholy issue, hung over their country; a set of
 Athenian citizens, distinguished by their rank and
 fortune, and known by the appellation of the Sixty;
 from the accidental number of their original in-
 stitution, regularly assembled into a club, where
 all serious transactions were treated with levity and
 ridicule, and day after day spent in feasting,
 gaming, and the sprightly exercises of wit and
 pleasantry. This detestable society saw, with-
 out emotion, their countrymen arming for battle;
 with the most careless indifference they received
 accounts of their captivity or death; nor did the
 public calamities in any degree disturb their festi-

Extreme
 corruption
 of the
 Athenians.

* Plutarch in Phocion.

† Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 614.

CHAP. vity; or interrupt, for a moment, the train of
 XXXVI. course of their pleasures. Their fame having
 reached Macedon; Philip sent them a sum of
 money, to support the expense of an association
 so favourable to his views. But what opinion
 must Phocion have formed of such an establish-
 ment; or how was it possible for any dispassionate
 man of ordinary prudence to expect, that a re-
 public so totally degenerate, as to foster such
 wretches within its bosom, could successfully wage
 war against a vigilant and enterprising enemy?

They de-
 termine to
 accept the
 terms of
 peace of-
 fered by
 Philip.

The arguments of the wisest portion of the com-
 munity for accepting the peace proffered by Phi-
 lip were strengthened and confirmed by the return
 of Demades with the Athenian prisoners taken at
 Cheronnea; who unanimously blazed forth the
 praises of their generous conqueror. Ambassadors
 were accordingly dispatched to the King of Mac-
 edon, to accept and ratify the treaty of peace, upon
 the terms which he had condescended to offer;
 and the only marks of deference shewn to the vi-
 olent party, who still clamoured for war, were, that
 Demochares, who ostentatiously affected a rude
 boldness of speech against Philip, was named
 among the ambassadors; and that Demosthenes,
 the irreconcilable enemy of that prince, was ap-
 pointed to pronounce the funeral oration in ho-
 nour of those slain at Cheronnea.

Insolence
 of Demo-
 chares.

Demochares acquitted himself of his commis-
 sion with that extravagant petulance which natu-
 rally flowed from his character; and which, in the
 Grecian commonwealths, too frequently, disgraced

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the decency of public transactions. At their audience of leave, Philip, with less sincerity than politeness, insisted on the ambassadors his usual professions of friendship, and obligingly asked them, Is there any thing farther in which I can gratify the Athenians? "Yes," said Demochares, "hang thyself." The just indignation of all present broke forth against this unprovoked outrage; when Philip, with admirable coolness silenced the clamour, by saying, "Let this ridiculous brawler depart unmolested;" and then turning to the other ambassadors, "Go, tell your countrymen, that those who can utter such contumelies are less just and moderate, than he who can pardon them*."

The honourable employment conferred on Demosthenes, which shewed that, notwithstanding the unfortunate issue of his counsels, the Athenians still approved his principles and his patriotism, might have been expected to elevate his sentiments and his language to the highest strain of eloquence. But the complexion of the times no longer admitted those daring flights to which he had been accustomed to soar; and the powers of the orator seem to have declined with the fortunes of his country. With too apparent caution he avoids the mention of all recent transactions, and dwells with tiresome minuteness on the ancient, and even fabulous, parts of the Athenian story. One transient flash of light breaks forth towards the end

Oration of Demosthenes in honour of those slain at Chæronea.

CHAP. XXXVII. it with the despotism of the East, or the absolute dominion of many European monarchs. The authority of Philip, even in his hereditary realm, was modelled on that admirable system of power and liberty, which distinguished and ennobled the *polities* of the heroic ages*. He administered the religion, decided the differences, and commanded the valour, of soldiers and freemen. Personal merit entitled him to hold the sceptre, which, being derived from Jove, could not long be swayed by unworthy hands. The superiority of his abilities, the vigilant and impartial justice of his administration, formed the main pillars of his prerogative; since, according to the principles and feelings of the Macedonians, he who infringed the rights of his subjects, ceased from that moment to be a king.

Nature
and extent
of Philip's
authority
in Greece.

Having effected the conquest of Greece, the prudence of Philip could not be supposed ambitious of introducing into that country more severe maxims of government than those which prevailed

* When Alexander, intoxicated with prosperity, claimed too exalted honours, he was told by Callisthenes the philosopher, "Οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἄλλ' ἐν τῇ γενεῇ καὶ τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐκείνους ἐκτρέφοντο. Ὑποτασσάμενοι τοῖς νόμοις, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇ βίβῃ καὶ τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐκείνους ἐκτρέφοντο. Your ancestors came from Argos to Macedon, and continued there, governing the Macedonians, not by force, but by law." *Arrian. Exped. Alexand. p. 87.*

† In capital cases, says Curtius, the soldiers judged in time of war, the citizens in time of peace. He then adds, "Nihil potestas regum valet, nisi prius valuerit auctoritas;" *scilicet populi.* *Curtius, l. 2. c. 8. Conf. l. viii. c. 6.*

‡ A very mean subject literally told Philip, "If you refuse to do me justice, cease to be a king." *Plut. Apophth. Conf. Arist. politic. l. 4. c. 10. Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. & xlv.*

in Macedon. He affected, on the contrary, to preserve inviolate the ancient forms of the republican constitution, and determined to govern the Greeks by the same policy with which he had subdued them. While Macedonian garrisons kept possession of Thermopylæ and the other strongholds of Greece, the faithful and active partisans of Philip controlled the resolutions, and directed the measures, of each particular republic. The superintendence of the sacred games, as well as of the Delphic temple, rendered him the only visible head of the national religion: in consequence of the double right of presiding and voting in the Amphietyonic council, he appeared in the character of supreme civil magistrate of Greece; and his illustrious victory at Chæronæa over the only communities that opposed his greatness, pointed him out as the general best entitled to conduct the military force of Greece and Macedon in the long-projected invasion of Persia; an office which, as he might have assumed it without blame, he therefore solicited with applause from the impartial suffrages of the people*.

That this condescension must have been highly flattering to the vanity of the Greeks, appears from the transactions at Corinth, where Philip, the year following the battle of Chæronæa, had assembled a general convention of the Amphietyonic states†. In this assembly, Dias of Ephesus represented, with affecting energy, the vexations, and

Philip
named
general
of the
Greeks;
Olymp.
cx. 4
A. C. 337.

* Diodor. li. xvi. p. 556. Τῶν ΠΑΛΑΙΩΝ ΑΙΩΝΩΝ ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ.

† Diodor. li. xvi. p. 556.

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oppression which the feeble colonies of Asia daily experienced from the rapacious cruelty of the Persian satraps. The general voice of the assembly re-echoed his complaints, while each member recollected, with indignation, the continual outrages of a people who had anciently invaded their country, insulted their religion, burned their temples, and, not satisfied with these acts of vengeance, had reduced and oppressed their colonies, and uninterruptedly excited and nourished those cruel animosities which had long filled every part of Greece with sedition and blood*. Philip had private wrongs to urge against the Persians, whose hatred and jealousy had, on several occasions, thwarted his measures and disturbed his government. Yet he insisted chiefly on their public injuries and notorious enmity to the whole Grecian name, the honour of which could only be redeemed by a successful expedition into Asia.

Amount
of their
forces.

This expedition was determined with universal consent. Philip was appointed general of the confederacy; and (although the Lacedæmonians suddenly absented themselves from the convention) when the several states came to ascertain the contingent of troops which they could respectively raise, the whole, exclusive of the Macedonians, amounted to two hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse†; a prodigious force, of which the domestic dissensions of the Greeks had hitherto, perhaps, prevented them

* Isocrat. Orat. ad Philip.

† Justin. l. ix. c. v.

from forming an adequate notion. On no former C H A P. XXXVII
 occasion, had the several republics appeared so
 thoroughly united in one common cause; never
 had they shewn themselves so sensible of their
 combined strength; never had they testified such
 general alacrity to take the field, or such unlimited
 confidence in the abilities of their commander.

It belongs to the biographers of the King of The expedition retarded by a rebellion in Illyria, and domestic dissensions in Macedon. Olymp. cxi. 1. A. C. 336.
 Macedon, to examine the circumstances of the
 bloody transaction which clouded this glorious
 prospect. In the general history of Greece, it is
 sufficient to mention, that Philip, having dispatched
 Parmenio with a body of troops to protect the
 Asiatic colonies, was prevented from immedi-
 ately following that commander by an insurrection
 of the Illyrian tribes*. This unseasonable diver-
 sion from the greatest enterprise of his reign, was
 rendered more formidable by the domestic discord
 which shook the palace of Philip. A spirit less
 proud and jealous than that of Olympias, mother
 of Alexander, might have been justly provoked by
 the continual infidelities of her husband, who
 whether at home or abroad, in peace or in war,
 never ceased to augment the number of his wives
 or concubines†. The generous mind of Alex-
 ander must naturally have espoused the cause of his
 mother, although his own interest had not been
 deeply concerned in preventing Philip from conti-
 nually giving him so many new rivals to the throne.
 The young prince defended the rights of Olympias

* Diodor. ad Olymp.

† Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 538.

C H A P. and his own, with the impetuosity natural to his
XXXVII. character: at the nuptials of Philip with Cassandra,
 niece to Attalus, one of his generals and fa-
 vourites, an open rupture broke out between the
 imperious father and his more haughty son*, and
 the latter concluding all those to be his own friends
 who were enemies to the former, sought refuge
 among the rebellious Illyrians, who were already
 in arms against their sovereign.

Philip ex-
 tricates
 himself
 from these
 difficul-
 ties.
 Olymp-
 exi 1
 A. C. 336.

The dexterity of Philip extricated him from
 these difficulties. Having conquered the Illyrians,
 he softened Alexander by assuring him that his il-
 lustrious merit, which was alike admired in Greece
 and Macedon, had not escaped the anxious vigi-
 lance of a parent, who, by giving him many rivals
 to the throne, had only given him an opportunity
 of surpassing them all in glory and in the merited
 affections of the Macedonians†. Soothed by this
 condescension, Olympias and her son again ap-
 peared at court with the distinction due to their
 rank: and, to announce and confirm this happy recon-
 cilement with his family, Philip married his beloved
 daughter Cleopatra to the King of Epirus, maternal
 uncle of Alexander; and celebrated the nuptials by
 a magnificent festival which lasted several days,
 during which the Greeks and Macedonians vied
 with each other in shewing their obsequious respect
 towards their common general and master.

He assassi-
 nated in
 going to
 the thea-
 tre.

Amidst the tumultuous amusements of the festi-
 vity, Philip often appeared in public with un-

* Plutarch. in Alexander.

† Plut. Apophth.

guarded confidence in the fidelity and attachment of all his subjects: but proceeding one day from the palace to the theatre, he was stabbed to the heart by Pausanias*, a Macedonian; whether the assassin was stimulated merely by private resentment, or prompted by the ill-appeased rage of Olympias, or instigated to commit this enormity by the Persian satraps; which last is asserted by Alexander†, who alleged the assassination of his father among his reasons for invading the Persian empire.

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Thus fell Philip of Macedon, in the forty-seventh year of his age and twenty-fourth of his reign; the first prince whose life and actions history hath described with such regular accuracy, and circumstantial fulness, as render his administration a matter of instruction to succeeding ages. With a reach of foresight and sagacity peculiar to himself, he united all the prominent features of the Grecian character; valour, eloquence, address, flexibility to vary his conduct without changing his purpose, the most extraordinary powers of application and perseverance, of cool combination and ardent execution. Intercepted in the middle of his career by the hand of an assassin, he was prevented from undertaking the justest and noblest design of his reign; a design which he had long meditated, and in which his near prospect of success promised to reward the labours and dangers of his toilsome life. Had not he fallen unexpectedly

His character.

\* Diodor. & Justin. ubi supra.

† Asiatick. L. ii. c. iii. & Curtius, l. iv. c. i.

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by a premature fate, there is good reason to believe that he might have subdued the Persian empire; an enterprise more dazzling, but less difficult, than the exploits which he had already achieved. Had that event taken place, the arduous undertakings of his long and successful reign would have been ennobled and illuminated by the splendour of extensive foreign conquest; Philip would have reached the height of such renown as is obtained by the habits of activity, vigilance, and fortitude in the pursuit of unbounded greatness; and, in the opinion of posterity, would perhaps have surpassed the glory of all kings and conquerors, who either preceded or followed him. Yet, even on this supposition, there is not any man of sense and probity, who, if he allows himself time for serious reflection, would purchase the imagined grandeur and prosperity of the King of Macedon, at the price of his artifices and crimes; and to a philosopher, who considered either the means by which he had obtained his triumphs, or the probable consequences of his dominion over Greece and Asia, the busy ambition of this mighty conqueror would appear but a deceitful scene of splendid misery.

Difficulties attending the accession of Alexander to the Macedonian throne.

A prince who is his own minister, and almost the sole depository of his own secrets, commonly leaves an arduous task for the labours of his successor. This difficulty presented itself to Alexander; but it was not the only circumstance that rendered his situation difficult. The regular order

of succession had never been clearly established in Macedon; and was in some measure incompatible with the spirit of royal government, which, as then generally understood, required such qualities and accomplishments in the first magistrate, as could not be expected from a promiscuous line of hereditary princes. The numerous wives of Philip had, however, been most fruitful in female offspring. Nor had Alexander much to apprehend from the rivalship of his brothers; since Ptolemy, born of Arsinoë; and afterwards King of Egypt, was reputed to be the son of Lagns, to whom Philip had married Arsinoë, while she was with child by himself; and Aridæus, the son of Philina, who, for six years after the death of Alexander, held a pageant royalty in the East through the glory of his brother's name, and the discordant ambition of his lieutenants, possessed not vigour of mind eagerly to dispute the succession. But Alexander's title was contested by Amyntas, son to Perdiccas, the elder brother of Philip, in whose name the last-mentioned prince originally administered the government, till the tender age of Amyntas being rejected by the Macedonians, Philip so little feared the revival of his pretensions to the throne, that he had given him his daughter Cyna in marriage. This new advantage strengthened the claim of Amyntas, which, it was probable, would be warmly supported by Attalus, a bold and enterprising commander, the personal enemy of Olympias and her son, of whom the former had recently put to death his kins-

C H A P.  
XXVII.  
Olymp.  
cxi. 1.  
A. C. 336.

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woman Cleopatra, with shocking circumstances of cruelty. Alexander privately took measures with his friends for crushing these dangerous enemies; and, being acknowledged King of Macedon, hastened into Greece, to reap the fruits of his father's labours, which might be lost by delay.

He is acknowledged general of the Greeks in an assembly of the states at Corinth.

In his journey thither, he experienced the perfidious inconstancy of the Thessalians, whom he chastised with proper severity; and having assembled the deputies of the states at Corinth, he was invested with the same honours which had been conferred on his predecessor. During his residence in that city there happened an incident which more clearly displays the character of Alexander, than can be done by the most elaborate description. Curiosity led him to visit Diogenes the cynic, whose singular manners and mode of life have been mentioned on a former occasion. He found him basking in the sun, and having made himself known as the master of Macedon and Greece, asked the philosopher what he could do to oblige him? "Stand from between me and the sun," was the answer of the cynic; upon which the King observed to his attendants, "that he would choose to be Diogenes, if he were not Alexander." The observation was natural and sublime; since, under the most dissimilar veils of external circumstances and pursuits, their characters concealed a real resemblance. Both pos-

His character displayed in his conversation with Diogenes the cynic.

\* Diodorus. l. xvii. 2, & seqq. & Justin. xi. 1, & seqq.

† Idem, ibid

|| Laertius in Vit. Diogen.

|| Pausan. l. ii. p. 88.

posed that proud erect spirit which disdains authority; spurns control, and aspires to domineer over fortune. But, by diminishing the number of his wants, Diogenes found, in his tub, that independence of mind, which Alexander, by the unbounded gratification of his desires, could not attain on the imperial throne of Persia.

Alexander, having returned to Macedon, prepared for his eastern expedition by diffusing the terror of his name among the northern Barbarians. The Illyrians and Triballi, mindful of the injuries of Philip, had hastily taken arms to oppose, ere it became too late, the youth and inexperience of his son. But the discernment of the young prince readily perceived the danger of leaving such formidable enemies on his frontier. With a well-appointed army he marched from Amphipolis, and leaving the city Philippi and Mount Orbelus on the left, arrived in ten days at the principal pass of Mount Hæmus, which led into the territory of the Triballi. There he found a new, and not less formidable enemy. The independent tribes of Thrace, having embraced the cause of the Triballi, had seized an eminence commanding the pass; and, instead of a breastwork, had fortified themselves with their carriages or waggons, which they purposed to roll down on the Macedonians. To elude the force of this unusual battery, Alexander commanded such of his troops as could not conveniently open their ranks, and allow free issue to the intended violence, to fall flat on the ground, and carefully close their shields, that the descending

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His expedition against the Illyrians and Triballi. Olymp. cxi. 2. A. C. 335.

He defeats the independent tribes of Thrace.



**C H A P.** waggon's might; harmless, bound over them. In  
**XXXVII** consequence of this contrivance, the hostile artill-  
 ~~~~~ ery was exhausted in vain. Alexander then attack-  
 ed the Thracians with admirable order and celerity. Fifteen hundred fell; their swiftness and knowledge of the country saved the greater number. The prisoners, women, and booty, were sent for sale to the maritime cities on the Euxine*.

The Triballi take refuge in Peucé.

Alexander having committed this subordinate business to Lysanias and Philotas, passed the mountains, and pursued the Triballi. By galling them with his bowmen and slingers, he gradually forced them from their fastnesses, and defeated a powerful body of their warriors encamped on the woody banks of the Lyginus, distant three days march from the Danube. The remainder of the nation, conducted by the valour of their chieftain Syritus, and reinforced by a numerous band of Thracians, took refuge in Peucé, an island in the Danube, defended by abrupt and rugged banks, surrounded by deep and foaming streams. Alexander, though he had just received some ships of war from Byzantium, judged it too hazardous to assault the island; and the hostile appearance of the Getæ on the northern bank, furnished him with an honourable pretence for declining the siege of Peucé. On the margin of the Danube, that audacious people had drawn up four thousand horse, and above ten thousand foot, showing, by their countenance and demeanour, a determined resolution to oppose the landing of an enemy. Provoked by those signs of

Alexander passes the Danube;

* Arrian. Alexand. Expedit. l. i. p. 2, & seqq.

defiance, and animated by the glory of passing the greatest of all European rivers, and that which was surrounded with the greatest and most warlike nations, Alexander filled the hides used in encampment with straw and other buoyant materials, and collected all the boats employed by the natives of those parts in fishing, commerce, or piracy. Amidst the darkness of the ensuing night, he thus transported fifteen hundred cavalry, and four thousand infantry, to that part of the opposite bank which was covered with high and thick corn. At the dawn of day, he commanded his foot to march through those rich fields* with transversed spears; while the infantry remained concealed in the corn, the cavalry followed them; but as soon as the former emerged into the naked plain, the horse advanced to the front, and both suddenly presenting an irresistible object of terror, the Getæ abandoned their post and fled to their city, which was four miles distant. There, they at first purposed to make a vigorous defence; but perceiving that Alexander cautiously skirted the river, to avoid the danger of an ambush, reflecting on his astonishing boldness in passing, without a bridge, the Danube in one night, and beholding the impenetrable firmness of his phalanx, and the resistless impetuosity of his cavalry†, they regarded farther opposition

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† Πλαγίαις ταῖς σαρκοῖς ἐπιπληντικὸν τοῖς σίτον. The spears were transversed; not only for the purpose of concealment, "but to make a road through the corn."

† ὁμοῖα δὲ τῆς φερεγγῆς ἢ εὐκλασίας, ὁμοῖα δὲ ἡ τῶν ἰππέων ἀνέσκη, Arrian, p. 4. Alexander knew the proper use of cavalry, which was

CHAP. as vain, forsook their habitations, and retired precipitately, with their wives and children, "into the northern desert*." XXXVII

The Macedonians entered and sacked the town. The spoil was entrusted to Philip and Meleager; Alexander, mindful of so many favours, returned sacrifices of thanks to Jupiter, Hercules, and the god of the Danube; and, encamping on the northern bank of the river, received very submissive embassies from the surrounding nations. Even Symus, the intrepid leader of the Triballi, sent propitiatory presents, and readily obtained pardon from a prince, who could admire virtue in a Barbarian and an enemy†.

receives the submission of the neighbouring nations.

Necessity alone compelled Alexander to carry his arms into those inhospitable regions. Animated by an ambition to subdue the Asiatic plains, he turned with contempt from bleak heaths and barren mountains, not deigning to chastise the boastful arrogance of the Celtæ. The Boii and Senones, Celtic or German tribes, (for those nations were often confounded by the Greeks), sent ambassadors to Alexander, who, observing their lofty stature and haughty spirit, endeavoured to humble them by asking, "what, of all things, they most feared?" not doubting, they would

* so little understood in the last century, that the three ranks fired successively before the charge; each, after firing passing by the colon, behind the rest. Gustávus Adolphus allowed only his first rank to fire: which, was doubtless a great improvement, and paved the way for reducing the service of cavalry to its true principle, what Arrian calls "ἡ βασις ἢ μολα."

† Arrian, lib. 2, p. 3, & seqq.

† Idem, lib. 2, p. 3, & seqq.

answer, "yourself;" but they replied, "the fall of heaven." The King declared them his friends and allies, but whispered to those around him, "the Celts are an arrogant people*." Could we admit the truth of this narrative, and believe that ambassadors were really sent to Alexander by the nations inhabiting the northern recesses of the Ionian gulph, it would be interesting to observe the early character and first proceedings of a people, who were destined to subdue the conquerors of the Macedonian empire.

In his return towards Pella, Alexander marched through the friendly country of the Pæonians, where he received the unpleasant intelligence that The Illyrian tribes were in arms, headed by Clitus, son of Bardyllis, the hereditary foe of Macedon. Glaucias, King of the Taulantii, prepared to join the arms of Clitus; the Autariadæ, likewise an Illyrian nation, had determined to obstruct the march of Alexander. Amidst these difficulties, he was encouraged by Langarus, chief of the Agrians, a warlike tribe inhabiting the ridges of Mount Hæmus. Even in the lifetime of Philip, Langarus† had discerned the superior merit of his son, with whom he had early entered into a confidential correspondence. Conducted by the activity of Langarus, the Agrian targeteers, who thenceforth had an important share in all the Macedonian victories, invaded the country of the Autariadæ. Their ravages were equally rapid and destructive; the Au-

* Arrian, l. i. p. 5, & Strabo, l. vii. p. 208 & 209

† Λαγγαρος - - - καὶ βασιλεὺς ἔστωι ἀναβαλόντων Ἀγριανῶν δυνάμει καὶ αὐτῶν ἀνὰ τὴν ἑσπέρην πρὸς αὐτὸν. Arrian, p. 5.

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tariadæ, broken by domestic calamity, or alarmed by personal danger, abandoned the design of co-operating with the enemies of Alexander. That prince thus advanced without opposition to Pellion, the principal strong-hold of the Illyrians. His army encamped on the banks of the Eordaicus. The enemy were posted on the adjacent mountains, and concealed among thick woods, purposing to attack the Macedonians by a sudden and united assault. But their courage failed them in the moment of execution. Not daring to wait the approach of the phalanx, they precipitately retreated to their city, leaving behind them the horrid vestiges of their bloody superstition, three boys, three maids, and as many black rams, which, having just sacrificed, they wanted time to remove*.

Meanwhile Glaucias, King of the Taulanti, approached with a great force to relive Pellion, and assist his ally. Alexander had dispatched Philotas to forage at the head of a strong body of cavalry. Glaucias attempted to intercept and cut off this detachment. Alexander, leaving part of his army to awe Pellion, marched to the assistance of Philotas; Clitus reinforced Glaucias; a decisive action thus seemed inevitable, if the thickness of lofty forests, and the intricacies of winding mountains, had afforded a proper scene for a general engagement. The Barbarians excelled in knowledge of the country; the Macedonians in

* Arrian, p. 5.

† *Μετὰ πολλὰς ἀνθρώπων*. Idem, p. 6. Neither Thrace nor Illyria were remarkably populous in those days; but at every man a soldier, the princes of those countries often brought numerous armies into the field.

skill and courage. The war was widely diffused, ^{CHAP.} and ably supported. But the discipline of Alex- ^{XXXVII.} ander finally prevailed. By surprise, by stratagem, by the terror of his military engines, which destroyed at a distance, and by such prompt and skilful manœuvres* as had never been before seen on the banks of the Apsus† and Erigonè, he totally dispersed this immense cloud of Barbarians. Many were slain, and many made captive; a remnant, having burnt their city, which they despaired of ability to defend, sought refuge among the Taulantian mountains‡.

Meanwhile a report circulated in Greece, that Alexander had perished in Illyria; and as men's belief is often guided by their interest||, this vague rumour was greedily embraced by the partisans of Grecian independence. The Athenian demagogues resumed their usual boldness; the Lacedæmonians already fancied themselves heading the revolt; but the first acts of rebellion were committed by the Thebans, who, having secretly recalled their exiles, treacherously¶ murdered Amyn-

Rebellion
in Greece.
Olymp.
cxi. 2.
A. C. 335.

* Those are laboriously described by Arrian, p. 6, who, it must be acknowledged, appears sometimes too fond of displaying his skill in tactics.

† Otherwise called the Eordaicus.

‡ Arrian, p. 7.

|| Οὐ γινώσκοντες τὰ ἀληθῆ καὶ μάταια καὶ ἄλογα ὅρμησιν ἀσπάζοντο.

“Not knowing the truth, hope regulated their conjectures.” Idem, p. 8.

§ The Lacedæmonians, says Arrian, were ὑποκινῶντες ἀντιπάλους; “revolled in their minds.”

¶ They seized them without the garrison, τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸν ἀσπίδα
“suspecting no hostility.”

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ias and Timolans, commanders of the Cadmeans, and prepared to expel the Macedonian garrison from that fortress.

Destruction of
Thebes.
Olymp.
cxi. 2.
A. C. 335.

Alexander, when apprised of these proceedings, relinquished the pursuit of the Barbarians, descended by rapid marches along the western frontier of Macedon, traversed Thessaly, entered Boeotia, and in the space of fourteen days after hearing the first news of the rebellion, besieged and demolished Thebes. The decisive boldness of this measure has been highly extolled by historians, because nothing could have a more direct tendency to quash the seditious spirit of the Greeks, than the rapid punishment of Thebes, which at once filled the neighbouring cities with pity and with terror. A spectacle of that dreadful kind was necessary, it has been said, to secure the future tranquillity of Greece and Macedon, and to enable Alexander to undertake his Persian expedition, without the danger of obstruction from rebellions in Europe*. But, notwithstanding this

* Plut. Diodor. Justin. Among the moderns, Nably, sur les Grécs, and the learned author of the Examen des Historiens d'Alexandre, who says, p. 46, "Alexandre devoit assurer sa domination dans la Grèce par quelque coup d'état, avant que de passer en Asie: la revolte de Thebes lui presenta une occasion favorable à ses vues." Yet Arrian, whose narrative was copied from the relation of eye-witnesses, expresses thrice in the same page, the reluctance of Alexander to attack the Thebans. Εὐδοκὸς γὰρ τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τὴν μεταστοιχείαν ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι συνιστάσκει, προσωσαύριτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς. And again: Ὅτι γὰρ τοὺς Ὀἰκιστὰς διὰ φίλῶν ἔχουσιν πολλοὺς τι καὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν πόλεων. And still to the same purpose, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ οὐκ ὄντος ἔρως ὑπερβαλὼν. Arrian, p. 8.

sagacious reflection, it appears that the destruction of Thebes was the effect, not of policy, but of obstinacy and accident. In approaching that unfortunate city, Alexander repeatedly halted, to allow the insurgents time to repent of their rashness. The wiser part of the Thebans proposed to embrace the opportunity of sending ambassadors to crave his pardon. But the exiles and authors of the sedition encouraged the multitude to persevere; and, instead of shewing remorse for their past crimes, sent forth their cavalry and light infantry, who assaulted and slew several of the Macedonian out-guards*.

Exasperated by these insults, Perdiccas, commander of an advanced party attacked the Theban wall, without waiting the orders of Alexander. A breach was speedily effected; the brigade of Perdiccas was followed by that of Amyntas, son of Andromenes; but both were so warmly received by the enemy, that Alexander saw the necessity of reinforcing them, lest they should be surrounded and cut off. The Thebans were then repelled in their turn; but soon rallying, beat back the assailants, and pursued them with disordered ranks. Alexander then seized the decisive moment for advancing with a close phalanx. His assault was irresistible. The Thebans fled again; and such was their trepidation, that having entered their gates, they neglected to shut them against the pursuers. The Macedonians, and their Greek auxiliaries, thus rushed tumultuously into the place.

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The occasion and circumstances of that event.

* Arrian, p. 8, & seqq.

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 Cruelty of the Greek auxiliaries.
 A dreadful slaughter ensued. The Pindians, Orchomenians, and Plataeans, rejoiced at gaining an opportunity to gratify their implacable resentment against Thebes. The greater part of the citizens, exceeding thirty thousand in number, were either put to the sword or dragged into captivity. A feeble remnant escaped to Athens. The ancient city of Cadmus was razed to the ground; but the citadel was still garrisoned by Macedonian troops, and long maintained as a convenient post for overawing the adjacent territory. //

A few acts of mercy owing to Alexander.

The severities exercised against Thebes were reluctantly permitted by Alexander, at the instigation of his Grecian auxiliaries. The few acts of forbearance or mercy, which appeared in this lamentable transaction, flowed from the humanity of his own nature. By his particular orders, the house and family of Pindar were saved from the general desolation. He commanded likewise, that the sacred families should be spared, as well as those connected with Macedon by the ties of hospitality; and, as he is the only great conqueror who built many more towns than he destroyed, he took care that the demolition of Thebes should be immediately followed by the restoration of Orchomenus and Plataea. Even the gloomiest events of his reign were distinguished by some flashes of light,

* According to the lowest computation, Thebes contained above thirty thousand citizens. Comp. Diodor. Hist. lib. xvii. Elian. Var. Hist. l. xiii. c. vii. Agatharctid. apud Phot. Bibl. lxxx. † Diodor. l. xvii. p. 569.

that displayed his magnanimity. It happened in the sack of Thebes, that a band of fierce Thracians broke into the house of Timoclea, an illustrious Theban matron, the ornament of her sex. The soldiers plundered her house; their brutal commander violated her person. Having gratified his lust, he was next stimulated by avarice, and demanded her gold and silver. She conducted him to a garden, and shewed him a well, into which she pretended to have thrown her most valuable treasure. With blind avidity, he stooped to grasp it while the woman being behind, pushed him headlong into the cistern, and covered him with stones. Timoclea was seized by the soldiers, and carried in chains to Alexander. Her firm gait, and intrepid aspect, commanded the attention of the conqueror. Having learned her crime, Alexander asked her, "Who she was, that could, venture to commit so bold a deed?"—"I am," replied she, "the sister of Theagenes, who fell at Charonea, fighting against Philip in defence of Grecian freedom." Alexander admired both her action and her answer, and desired her to depart free with her children*. While Alexander returned towards Macedonia, he received many congratulatory embassies from the Greeks. Those affected most friendship in their speeches, who had most enmity in their hearts. The Athenians sent to deprecate his wrath against themselves, and to excuse their compassionate treatment of the Theban fugitives. Alexander demanded the persons of Demosthepes

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XXXVII.
Heroism of
Timoclea.

Alexander
receives
the con-
gratulatory
embas-
sies of the
Greeks.

CHAP. LYCURGUS, HYPERIDES, and five other orators, whose inflammatory speeches he ascribed the seditious spirit that had recently prevailed in Athens. An assembly was immediately summoned to deliberate on this demand; and a decree unanimously passed for trying the orators accused by Alexander, and for inflicting on them such punishment as their offences should appear to merit. This pretended forwardness in the Athenians to avenge his quarrel, was highly agreeable to Alexander. The artful decree, which was immediately transmitted to him, became still more acceptable through the bearer Demades, an avowed friend to Macedon; whom the party of Demosthenes bribed with five talents to undertake this useful service*. Amidst the various embassies to the King, the Spartans alone preserved a sullen, or magnanimous silence. Alexander treated them with real, or well-affecting contempt; and, without deigning to require their assistance, prepared for the boldest and noblest enterprise ever undertaken by the Grecian confederacy.

Transactions in
Macedon,
previous
to Alex-
ander's
expedition
to the
East.
Olymp.
cxi 1.

A. C. 334.

The arrival of the army in Macedon was celebrated with all the pomp of an elegant superstition. A faithful image of the Olympic solemnity was exhibited in the ancient city of Egæ. Continued games and sacrifices were performed in Dion, during the space of nine days, in honour of the

* The circumstances of this transaction are differently related by all the authors who mention it. Compare Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 498. — *Æschines* in Ctesiphont. *Plut.* in Vit. Alexand. & *Arrian*, l. i. p. 11. — *As an* *historical* *author* *Arrian's* *authority* *stands* *unrivalled*; *but* *Æschines*, *v. c.* *contemporary* *orator*, *must* *have* *been* *better* *informed* *concerning* *the* *civil* *transactions* *of* *the* *Athenians*.

Muses. Alexander entertained at his table the ambassadors of the Grecian states, together with the principal officers of his army, whether Greeks or Macedonians. In the interval of public representations, he discoursed with his confidential friends concerning the important expedition which chiefly occupied his thoughts. Parmenio and Antipater, the most respected of his father's counsellors, exhorted him not to march into the East, until by marriage, and the birth of a son, he had provided a successor to the monarchy. But the ardent patriotism of Alexander dispained every personal consideration. He remembered that he was elected general of the Greeks, and that he commanded the invincible troops of his father*.

Having entrusted to Antipater the affairs of Greece and Macedon, and committed to that general an army of above twenty thousand men, to maintain domestic tranquillity in those countries, he departed early in the spring, at the head of above five thousand horse, and somewhat more than thirty thousand infantry†. In twenty days march he arrived at Sestos, on the Hellespont. From thence the army was conveyed to Asia, in an hundred and sixty galleys, and probably a still greater number of transports. The armament landed without opposition on the Asiatic coast; the Persians, though

Alexander crosses the Hellespont with his army Olymp. cxi. 3. A. C. 334.

* Diodor. l. xvii. p. 499.

† Diodorus, who enters into some detail on this subject, says, twelve thousand infantry, and eleven thousand five hundred cavalry.

‡ Arrian, p. 124.

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State of
the Per-
sian em-
pire.

long ago apprised of the intended invasion, having totally neglected the defence of their western frontier.

The causes of this negligence resulted, in some degree perhaps, from the character of the prince, but still more from that of the nation. Codomanus had been raised by assassinations and intrigues to the throne of Persia, about the same time that Alexander succeeded his father Philip. The first year of his reign had been employed in stifling domestic rebellion, in securing, and afterwards in displaying the fruits of victory. This prince assumed the appellation of Darius, but could not recal the principles or manners which distinguished his countrymen, during the reign of the first monarch of that name. In the space of about two hundred and thirty years, the Persians had been continually degenerating from the virtues which characterise a poor and warlike nation, without acquiring any of those arts and improvements, which usually attend peace and opulence. Their empire, as extended by Darius Hystaspis, still embraced the most valuable portion of Asia and Africa. The revenue paid in money was still estimated, as during the reign of that monarch, at fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty Eubœic talents. Immense treasures had been accumulated in Damascus, Arbela, Susa, Persepolis, Ecbatan, and other great cities of the empire. The revenue paid in kind cannot be appreciated; but such was the extraordinary opulence of this great monarchy, that the conquests of Alexander are supposed to have given him an income of

sixty millions sterling* ; a sum which will admit of every allowance for exaggeration, and still appear sufficiently great.

Although the extravagance and vices of Susa, Babylon, and other imperial cities, corresponded to the extent and wealth of the monarchy, yet the Persians were prepared for destruction rather by their ignorance of the arts of peace and war, than by their effeminacy and luxury. The provinces, moreover, had ceased to maintain any regular communication with the capital, or with each other. The standing military force proved insufficient to keep in awe the distant satraps or viceroys. The ties of a common religion or language, or the sense of a public interest, had never united into one system this discordant mass of nations, which was ready to crumble into pieces at the touch of an invader. When to these unfavourable circumstances, we join the reflection that, under the younger Cyrus, twelve thousand Greeks baffled the arms, and almost divided the empire of Persia, our admiration will diminish for the magnanimity of Alexander in undertaking his eastern expedition; unless we are at the same time apprised, that Darius was deemed a brave and generous prince, beloved by his Persian subjects and assisted by the valour of fifty thousand Greek mercenaries†.

Having arrived in Asia, Alexander, than whom none ever employed more successfully the power of superstition‡, confirmed the confidence of his fol-

Circumstances which prepared it for destruction.

Deliberation of the Persian satraps.

* Justin. xlii. 2.

† Arrian, Diodorus, and Curtius.

‡ Plut. Curtius, and Arrian, passim.

CHAP. lowers by many auspicious predictions and prophecies. While, with every military precaution, he pursued his march along the coast, Arsites, Spithridates, Memnon, and other governors of the maritime provinces, assembled for deliberation in the town of Zeleia, in Treas, distant sixty miles from the Hellespont. They had neglected to oppose the invasion by their superior fleet; they had allowed the enemy to encamp, unopposed, on their coasts; fear now compelled them to reluctant union; but jealousy made them reject the most reasonable plan of defence.

Judicious
advice of
Memnon,

This was proposed by Memnon the Rhodian, the ablest general in the service of Darius. He observed the danger of resisting the Macedonian infantry, who were superior in number, and encouraged by the presence of their King. That their raiders, fiery and impetuous, were now animated by hope, but would lose courage on the first disappointment. Destitute of magazines and resources, their safety depended on sudden victory. It was the interest of the Persians, on the other hand, to protract the war, above all to avoid a general engagement. Without risking the event of a battle, they had other and surer means to check the progress of the invaders. For this purpose, they ought to trample down the corn with their numerous cavalry, destroy all other fruits of the ground, and desolate the whole country, without sparing the towns and villages. Some rejected this advice, as unbecoming the dignity of Persia* ; Arsites, governor of Lesser

* *Ανέστη τις Ελληνιστάς τις, ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ὁ ἀντιπρόσωπος τῆς Περσίας.* "Unworthy the magnanimity of Persia." Diodor. p. 601.

Phrygia, declared proudly, that he would never permit the property of his subjects to be ravaged with impunity. These sentiments the more easily prevailed, because many suspected the motives of Memnon. It was determined, therefore, by this council of princes, to assemble their respective forces with all possible expedition, and to encamp on the eastern bank of the Granicus, a river (midway between Zaleia and the Hellespont) which issuing from mount Ida, falls into the Propontia.

The scouts of Alexander having brought him intelligence of the enemy's design, he immediately advanced to give them battle. The phalanx marched by its flank in a double line*, the cavalry on the wings, the waggons and baggage in the rear. The advanced guard, consisting of horsemen armed with pikes, and five hundred light infantry, the whole commanded by Hegelochus, were detached to examine the fords of the Granicus, and to observe the disposition of the enemy. They returned with great celerity, to acquaint Alexander, that the Persians were advantageously posted on the opposite bank, their horse amounting to twenty thousand, and their foreign mercenaries, drawn up on the slope of a rising ground, behind the cavalry, scarcely less numerous. Notwithstanding this alarming intelligence, the young

Alexander
prepares
to pass the
Granicus.
Olymp.
cxi. 3.
A. C. 334.

* The *δυσπλοκή* is explained in this sense by *Æsch.* and *Artib.* In ordinary cases the phalanx marched by its flank, that is, with a front of sixteen men. The *δυσπλοκή*, therefore, contained a front of thirty-two men.

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Rejects
the cau-
tious
counsels
of Par-
menio.

prince determined to pass the river. Having advanced within sight of the hostile ranks, his horns spread to the right and left, the massy columns of infantry opened, and the whole formed along the bank in order of battle. The phalanx, divided into eight sections, composed the main body, which occupied the centre; the Macedonian cavalry formed the right wing; the Grecian, the left.

While Alexander made these dispositions, the cautious Parmenio approached, and remonstrated against passing the Granicus in the face of an enemy. The river, he observed, was deep and full of eddies; its banks abrupt and craggy; "it would be impossible, therefore, to march the Macedonians in line, and if they advanced in columns, their flanks must be exposed naked and defenceless. To try such dangerous manœuvres seemed unnecessary in the present juncture, because the Barbarians would certainly quit their station in the night, rather than remain encamped in the neighbourhood of so formidable an army." These prudential considerations prevailed not with Alexander, who declared that in the first conflict, the Macedonians must act with equal promptitude and vigour, and perform something worthy of the terror which they bore. Saying this, he sprung on his horse, assumed the command of the right wing, and committed the left to Parmenio.

Battle of
the Gra-
nicus
Olymp.
xvi 3
A. C. 334

Animated by the hope of soon closing with the enemy, he disdained to employ his military engines. The balistas and catapults, by which, in a similar situation, he had repelled the Taulanti,

were rejected as tedious or ineffectual. Alexander distributed his orders; a dreadful silence ensued; the hostile armies beheld each other with resentment or terror. This solemn pause was interrupted by the Macedonian trumpet, which, on a signal given by Alexander, resounded from every part of the line. His brother Ptolemy, as had been previously regulated, then rode forth at the head of a squadron of cuirassiers*, followed by two bodies of light dragoons, and a battalion of infantry commanded by Amyntas. While these troops boldly entered the Granicus, Alexander likewise advanced with the chosen cavalry on the right wing, followed by the archers and Agrians. In passing the river, both Alexander and Ptolemy led their troops obliquely down the current, to prevent as much as possible, the Persians from attacking them in flank, as they successively reached the shore. The Persian cavalry behaved with courage; the first squadrons of the Macedonians were driven back into the stream. But Alexander, who animated the *companions*† with his voice and arm, maintained his ground on the bank, and thought he had gained the battle, when he obtained an opportunity of fighting. In the equestrian combat which followed, the Macedonians owed much to their

* I have used this word to express those troops which the Greeks called *Cataphracts*, from the completeness of their defensive armour. Milton mentions them in *Sampson Agonistes*,
"Archers and slingers, Cataphracts and spears."

† The eight squadrons of chosen cavalry which were of that kind called *Cataphracts*, were honoured with the name of *Companions* and friends of the King. Arrian & Diodor. passim.

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 skillful evolutions and discipline, but more to their strength and courage; and now little to the excellence of their weapons, which being made of the cornel-tree, far surpassed the brittle javelins of the enemy.

Personal
 prowess
 of Alexan-
 der and
 the Mace-
 donian
 captains.

Meanwhile Parmenio crossed the Granicus, at the head of the left wing, with equal success, but unequal glory, because Alexander had already proved, by his example, that the difficulty might be overcome, which would have otherwise appeared insurmountable. The attention of the enemy was so deeply engaged by the successive attacks of the cavalry, that they seem not to have made much opposition to the passage of the phalanx. But before this powerful body of infantry had crossed the river, the Macedonian horse had already reaped the fairest honours of the field. Alexander animated them by his presence, and, after discharging the duties of a great general, performed such personal acts of prowess as will be more readily admired than believed by the modern reader. But in the close combats of antiquity, the forces, when once thoroughly engaged, might be safely abandoned to the direction of their own resentment and courage, while the commanders displayed the peculiar accomplishments to which they had been

* They derived great advantages, particularly from the light infantry intermixed with their squadrons. The targeteers and Agrians proved extremely useful in helping the Macedonians to keep off the Persian cavalry, which, when too near, hindered them from the proper use of their pikes.

† At Mytus validis hastilibus & bona bello

‡ Coronea

Voss. Coronea

1710

trained from their youth, in the more conspicuous parts of the field, Alexander was easily distinguished by the brightness of his armour, and the admirable alacrity of his attendants. The bravest of the Persian nobles impatiently waited his approach. He darted into the midst of them, and fought till he broke his spear. Having demanded a new weapon from Arctes, his master of horse, Arctes showed him his own spear, which likewise was broken. Demaratus the Corinthian supplied the King with a weapon. Thus armed, he rode up and assailed Mithridates, son-in-law to Darius, who exulted before the hostile ranks. While Alexander beat him to the ground, he was himself struck by Rasaces with a hatchet. The firmness of his helmet saved his life. He pierced the breast of Rasaces, but a new danger threatened him from the scimitar of Spithridates. The instrument of death already descended on his head, when Clitus cut off the arm of Spithridates, which fell with the grasped weapon.

O. H. A. P.
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The heroism of Alexander animated the valour of the companions, and the enemy first fled where the King commanded in person. In the left wing, the Grecian cavalry must have behaved with distinguished merit, since the Persians had begun on every side to give way, before the Macedonian infantry had completely passed the river*. The

The Persians defeated.

* Guischart. p. 208. says, " Aussitôt que la phalange fut en état d'agir contre l'ennemi, avec tout son front herissé de piques, la victoire cessa d'être douteuse." It appears not, however, that the phal-

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stern aspect of the phalanx, shining in steel and
bristling with spears, confirmed the victory. Above
a thousand Persian horse were slain in the pursuit.
The foot, consisting chiefly in Greek mercenaries,
still continued in their first position, not firm but
inactive, rapt in fixed wonder, not steady through
resolution*. While the phalanx attacked them in
front, the victorious cavalry assailed their flanks.
Surrounded on all sides, they fell an easy prey; two
thousand surrendered prisoners; the rest all perished,
unless a few stragglers perchance lurked
among the slain.

Loss on
both sides.

The battle of the Granicus proved fatal to most
of the Persian commanders. Arsites, the chief
adviser of the engagement, died in despair by his
own hand. The generals Niphates and Petenes,
Omaces leader of the mercenaries, Spithridates sa-
trap of Lydia, Mithrobuzanes governor of Cap-

lax at all, seted against, the Persian cavalry. (The battle of Chaerone was entirely an equestrian engagement, as had been prophesied to Alexander by his namesake, a priest of Minerva in the Troade. See Diodor. l. xvii. p. 571)

* Εκπλήξην μάλλιν τι τε παραλογὴν, ελογισμὸν, ἔλεγον Ἀρριαν. It might be suspected that the Greek mercenaries were not very hearty in the Persian cause, and had delayed declaring themselves till they beheld the issue of the equestrian engagement. This is conjectured by Guischart in his admired *Memoires Militaires*, p. 206. But the fidelity of their countrymen to Darius on all subsequent occasions, as well as the severe treatment which they met with in the present battle, seem sufficient to remove that dishonourable suspicion. Their conduct, seemingly unaccountable, is ascribed, by Arrian, to their astonishment that Alexander's cavalry should have passed the Granicus, and repelled the Persian horse, four times more numerous than his own.

rodotes, Mithridates son-in-law of Darius, and Artabanes son of Artaxerxes, were numbered among the slain. Such illustrious names might lead us to suspect that the Persians were still more numerous than Arrian* represents them; and, notwithstanding the nature of ancient weapons and tactics, which rendered every battle a rout, and commonly prevented the retreat of the vanquished, it is scarcely to be believed, that in such an important engagement, Alexander should have lost only eighty-five horsemen, and thirty light infantry. Of the former, twenty-five belonged to the royal band of Companions. By command of Alexander, their statues in bronze were moulded by the art of his admired Lysippus, and erected in the Macedonian city of Dium.

This important victory enabled Alexander to display both his humanity and his prudence. He declared the parents and children of the deceased thenceforth exempted from every species of tribute. He carefully visited the wounded, at-

Humanity
and prudence of
Alexander.

* Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 572. makes them amount to one hundred and ten thousand. Justin is quite extravagant. The Persians, he says, were six hundred thousand.

† Others diminished the loss to thirty-five horsemen and nine foot soldiers. Aristobol apud Plut. in Vit. Alexand.

‡ Arrian says, ὅτι καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον μόνος προεβίβηκε στήν, "Who was alone preferred to make the image of Alexander." This, doubtless, increased the honour conferred on the Companions. Arrian would have spoke more accurately, had he said, "to cast the figure of Alexander in bronze." Other artists represented him in marble, in gems, medals, &c. of which hereafter

|| Arrian, distinguishes τὸ σωματικὸν λυτὸν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, personal services; and contributions, in proportion to their property.

CHAP. XXXVII. tentively asked how each of them had received battle, and heard with patience and commendation their much-boasted exploits. The Persian companions were interred; and the Greeks, both officers and soldiers. The Grecian captives were condemned to work in the Thracian mines, as a punishment for bearing arms against the cause of their country. But even this severity Alexander softened by a very seasonable compliment to the Athenians, whose city he preferred to be the repository of his trophies and renown. Immediately after the battle, he sent three hundred suits of Persian armour, as dedications to Minerva in the citadel. This magnificent present was inscribed with the following words: "Gained by Alexander, son of Philip, and the Greeks (except the Lacedæmonians), from the Barbarians of Asia." It is remarkable, that on this occasion he omits mention of the Macedonians, whether because he wished them to be comprehended under the name of Greeks; or because, in the Persian war, he always affected rather to avenge the cause of Greece, than to gratify his own ambition; or, finally, that the Greeks being thus exclusively associated to his honours, might the more forth continue zealous in making new levies for his service.

Immediate consequence of the victory.

The battle of the Granicus opened to Alexander the conquest of Ionia, Caria, Phrygia; in a word, all the Asiatic provinces west of the river Halys, which had anciently formed the powerful monarchy of the Lydians. Many of the walled towns surrendered at his approach. Sardes, the splendid ca-

capital of Greece, opened its gates to a deliverer, CHAP.
and once more recovered its ancient laws and mu- XXXVII.
nicipal government, after reluctantly enduring,
above two centuries, the cruel yoke of Persia. The
Grecian cities on the coast were delivered from the
burden of tribute and the oppression of garrisons;
and, under the auspices of a prince, who admired
their pristine glory in arts and arms, resumed the
enjoyment of their hereditary freedom. During
the Persian expedition of Alexander, the Ephesians
were still employed in rebuilding their temple,
which had been set on fire by Herostratus, twenty
years before that period, and on the same night,
as is said, which gave birth to the destined conqueror
of the East. Alexander encouraged their pious and
honourable undertaking; and, in order to accelerate
its progress, commanded the tribute which had been
paid to the Persians, to be appropriated to the
temple of Diana*.

Miletus and Halicarnassus alone retarded the
progress of the conqueror. The latter place, com-
manded by Memnon the Rhodian, made a memo-
rable defence. Alexander had scarcely sat down
before it, when the garrison, consisting of Greeks
and Persians, sallied forth, and maintained a de-
perate conflict. Having repelled them with much
difficulty, he undertook the laborious work of fill-
ing up a ditch thirty cubits broad, and fifteen deep,
which the besieged, with incredible diligence, had
drawn around their wall. This being effected, he

Siege of
Miletus
and Hali-
carnassus.

* Comp. Arrian, p. 13. & Strab. p. 949.

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advanced wooden towers, on which the Macedonians erected their battering engines, and prepared to assault the enemy on equal ground. But his labours were interrupted by a nocturnal sally; a second engagement was fought with still greater fury than the first; three hundred Macedonians were wounded, darkness preventing their usual precaution in guarding their bodies*.

Bold adventure of two Macedonian soldiers.

A few days afterwards, Halicarnassus, which had so obstinately resisted skill and courage, was on the point of yielding to rashness and accident. The battalion of Perdikkas happened to be posted on that side of the wall, which looked towards Miletus. Two soldiers, belonging to this corps, while they supped together in their tent, boasted their military exploits; each as usual, preferring his own. Wine heated their emulation. They rushed forth to assault the wall of Halicarnassus, animated less with the mad hope of victory, than by an ambition to display their respective prowess. The centinels perceived their audacity, and prepared to repel them; but they killed the first man who approached, and threw javelins at others, who advanced in succession. Before their boldness was overwhelmed by numbers, many soldiers, belonging to the same battalion hastened to their relief. The Halicarnassians, also reinforced their friends; a sharp conflict ensued; the garrison was repelled; the wall attacked; two towers and the intervening curtain, thrown down; and had greater numbers

joined in the assault, the town must have been taken by storm. CHAP. XXXVII.

The humanity of Alexander rendered him unwilling to come to that extremity. But the extraordinary success of such an unpremeditated enterprise, engaged him to ply the walls with new vigour. The defence was as obstinate as before; two desperate sallies were made, and repelled with consummate bravery. Alexander's tenderness for the Halicarnassians prevented him from entering the place with an enraged and licentious soldiery. He therefore recalled his troops in the moment of victory, hoping that the besieged would finally surrender, and thus save their lives and properties. From the various breaches in the walls, and the numbers who had perished, or been wounded, in repeated conflicts, Memnon and his colleagues perceived, that much longer resistance was impossible. In this emergency they displayed the same decisive boldness which had appeared in every part of their defence. Having summoned the bravest of their adherents, they, in the night-time, set fire to a wooden tower, which they had erected for defence against the shocks of the enemy's engines, and for protection to their arsenal and magazines, and escaped to two neighbouring castles of great strength. About midnight, Alexander perceived the raging flames, and immediately sent a detachment to punish those who had excited, or who fomented, the conflagration; but with strict

Halicarnassus taken and reluctantly demolished. Olymp. cxi. 3. A. C. 334

CHAP. orders to spare such of the townsmen as were found
XXXVII in their houses. Next day, he examined the
 castles, and perceived that they could not be taken
 without much loss of time or blood ; but that, inde-
 pendentlly of the town, they were not, in themselves
 of any value ; circumstances which, obliged him, re-
 luctantly, to demolish Halicarnassus, that it might
 never thenceforth serve as a retreat to his ene-
 mies*.

Alexander
 commits
 the go-
 vernment
 of Caria
 to Ada.

The inactive season of the year was employed
 by Alexander in securing and improving his ad-
 vantages. The inferior cities were committed to
 the discretion of his lieutenants ; the King in per-
 son visited his more important conquests ; and few
 places were honoured with his presence without
 experiencing his bounty. Before leaving Caria,
 where the siege of Halicarnassus long detained his
 impatient activity, he committed the administra-
 tion to Ada, the hereditary governess of that pro-
 vince. Ada was the sister, and the wife of Hi-
 drieus, on whose decease she was entitled to reign,
 both by the Carian laws and those of Upper Asia,
 where female succession had been established ever
 since the age of Semiramis. But the great King,
 with the usual caprice of a despot, had rejected the
 just claim of Ada, and seated a pretender on her
 tributary throne. The injured princess, however,
 still maintained possession of the strongly fortified
 city Alinda. When Alexander appeared in Caria,
 Ada hastened to meet him, addressed him by
 the name of son, and voluntarily surrendered to

* Arrian, p. 23.

HOW ALEXANDER. The King neither rejected her present nor declined her friendship; and, as he always repaid favours with interest, he committed to her, at his departure, the government of the whole province, and left a body of three thousand foot and two hundred horse, to support her authority.

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The measures of Alexander were equally decisive and prudent. The Persian fleet, supplied by Egypt, Phœnicia, and the maritime provinces of Lower Asia, four times outnumbered his own, which, small as it was, still appeared too expensive for his treasury. Alexander determined to discharge it, declaring to his lieutenants, that, by conquering the land, he would render himself master of the sea, since every harbour that surrendered to him must diminish the naval resources of the enemy. Agreeably to this judicious plan of conquest, he pursued his journey through the southern provinces of the Asiatic peninsula, while Parmenio traversed the central countries of Lydia and Phrygia. At the same time Cleander was dispatched into Greece to raise new levies; and such soldiers as had married shortly before the expedition, were sent home to winter with their wives: an indulgence which extremely endeared Alexander to the army, and ensured the utmost alacrity of his European subjects, in furnishing supplies towards the ensuing campaign.

His judicious plan of war.

It will appear in the sequel how faithfully Alexander adhered to this plan of war, which kept open his communication with Greece and Macedon, and enabled him to pursue, with security, his conquests in the East.

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The arts
by which
he secured
his con-
quests.

Accompanied by such winning arts, the valour and prudence of Alexander seemed worthy to govern the world. His conduct, perhaps, often proceeded from the immediate impulse of sentiment; but it could not have been more subservient to his ambition, had it been invariably directed by the deepest policy. After the decisive battle of the Granicus, he experienced little obstinacy of resistance from the numerous forts and garrisons in Lower Asia. The tributary princes and satraps readily submitted to a milder and more magnanimous master; and the Grecian colonies on the coast eagerly espoused the interest of a prince who, on all occasions, avowed his partiality for their favourite institutions. In every province or city which he conquered, he restored to the Asiatics their hereditary laws; to the Greeks, their beloved democracy. While he allowed them to assume the forms of independent government, he was careful to bridle the animosity of domestic faction. Into whatever country he marched, he encouraged useful industry and alleviated public burdens. His taste and his piety alike prompted him to repair the sacred and venerable remains of antiquity. He considered the Barbarians, not as slaves, but as subjects, the Greeks, not as subjects, but allies; and both perceived in his administration such equity and lenity as they had never experienced either from the despotism of Persia, or from the domineering ambition of Athens and Sparta*.

* Compare Plut. in Alexand. Curtius & Arrian, passim; & Thucyd. Xenoph. Isocrat. & Diodor.

Having received the submission of Xanthus, Patara, Phaselis, and above thirty other towns or sea-ports, in Lycia, Alexander, probably for the sake of greater expedition, divided the corps under his immediate command. A considerable detachment traversed the Lycian and Pamphilian mountains, while the King in person, pursued the still more dangerous track, leading along the sea-coast from Phaselis to Perga. On this foaming shore, the sea commonly beats against the rocks, and renders the passage impracticable, unless when the waves are repelled by a strong north wind. When Alexander began his march, the wind blew from the south. Yet he advanced fearless, confiding in his fortune. His troops cheerfully followed him, encouraged by many artful prodigies* which announced success to his undertaking. The event which next happened, was well fitted to strengthen their credulity, and confirm their implicit obedience. Before they had reached the main difficulties of the pass, the south wind gra-

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XXXVII.
Singular
felicity of
Alexander's
march
from Pha-
selis to
Perga.

* While Alexander deliberated whether he should march forwards to attack Darius, a measure which promised glory and plunder to his troops, or proceed along the sea-coast, and reduce the maritime cities, which would prevent the enemy from profiting of his absence in Upper Asia, to conquer Greece or Macedon with their fleet, a fountain near the city Xanthus in Lycia boiled up, and threw out a copper-plate, engraved with ancient characters, signifying that the time was come when the Persian empire should be overthrown by the Greeks. Plutarch adds, *ἔκτισε πνεῦμα, πῦρ τε καὶ παραλαβὴν ἀνακαθίσταται*. "Encouraged by this prodigy, he hastened to subdue the coast." It would perhaps have been more worthy of an historian to say, "Encouraged by this prodigy, the Greeks and Macedonians readily obeyed the commands of their prudent, not less than valiant general."

CHAP. dually ceased ; a brisk gale sprang up from the
 XXXVII north ; the sea retired ; and their march thus be-
 came alike easy and expeditious. The authentic
 evidence of Arrian explains the marvellous in
 this occurrence, which Josephus inconsiderately
 compares with the passage of the Israelites over
 the Red Sea. Yet even the philosophical Ar-
 rian acknowledges, that the many concurring in-
 stances of good fortune in the life of Alexander,
 seemed to be produced by the immediate inter-
 position of divine power, which, in effecting an
 important revolution in the Eastern world, ren-
 dered the operations of nature, and the volitions
 of men, subservient to the secret purposes of its
 providence.

In proceeding eastward from Perga, Alexander
 was met by ambassadors from Aspendus, the prin-
 cipal city and sea-port of Pamphylia. The Aspen-
 dians offered to surrender their city, but entreated,
 that they might not be burdened with a garrison.
 Alexander granted their request, on condition of
 their raising fifty talents to pay his soldiers, and
 delivering to him the horses which they reared as
 a tribute for Darius. The ambassadors accepted
 these terms ; but their countrymen, who were dis-
 tinguished by their ambition and rapacity, still
 more than by their commerce and their wealth,
 discovered no inclination to fulfil them. Alexander
 was informed of their treachery, while he examined
 the walls of Syllius, another strong-hold of Pam-
 phylia. He immediately marched towards Aspen-

dus, the greater part of which was situate on a high and steep rock; washed by the river Eury-
 medon. Several streets however, were likewise
 built on the plain, surrounded only by a slight
 wall. At the approach of Alexander, the inha-
 bitants of the lower part of the town ascended the
 mountain. Alexander entered the place, and en-
 camped within the walls. The Aspendians,
 alarmed by the apprehension of a siege, intreated
 him to accept the former conditions. He com-
 manded them to deliver the horses, as agreed on;
 to pay instead of fifty, an hundred talents; and
 to surrender their principal citizens as securities,
 that they would thenceforth obey the governor set
 over them; pay an anual tribute to Macedon;
 and submit to arbitration a dispute concerning some
 lands which they were accused of having unjustly
 wrested from their neighbours*.

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 He pu-
 nishes the
 treachery
 of Aspen-
 dus.

Having chastised the insolence and treachery of
 Aspendus, Alexander determined to march into
 Phrygia, that he might join forces with Parmenio,
 whom he had commanded to meet him in that coun-
 try. The new levies from Greece and Macedon were
 likewise ordered to assemble in the same province;
 from which it was intended, early in the spring, to
 proceed eastward, and atchieve still more important
 conquests. To reach the southern frontier of Phry-
 gia, Alexander was under the necessity of traversing
 the inhospitable mountains of the warlike Pisidians.
 Amidst these rocks and fastnesses, the Macedonians

Alexander
 enters
 Phrygia.
 Olymp.
 cxi. 4.
 A. C. 332.

CHAP. lost several brave men : but the undisciplined fury, and unarmed courage, of the Pisidians, was unable to check the progress of Alexander. The city of Gordium in Phrygia, was appointed for the general rendezvous. This place is distant about seventy-five miles from the Euxine, and two hundred and forty from the Cilician sea ; and was famous, in remote antiquity, as the principal residence of the Phrygian kings, and the chief seat of their opulence and grandeur*. Alexander had not long arrived in that place, when a desire seized him of ascending to the ancient castle or palace of Gordius, and of beholding the famous knot on his chariot, which was believed to involve the fate of Asia. Gordius, as the story went, was a man of slender fortune among the ancient Phrygians, who had but a small piece of land, and two yokes of oxen, one of which he employed in the plough, and the other in the waggon. It happened to Gordius, while he was one day ploughing, that an eagle alighted on his yoke, and sat on it till evening. Alarmed by the prodigy, Gordius had recourse to the Telmessians, a people inhabiting the loftiest mountains† in Pisidia, and celebrated over all the neighbouring countries for their skill in augury. At the first village of the Telmessians, he met a virgin drawing water at a fountain, to whom having communicated his errand, she ordered him to ascend the

His adventure at Gordium.

* See vol. i. cvii p. 290.

† Arrian p. 27. calls it *ὄρειον*, *οὐκ ὄρειον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους*. "Especially high and every where abrupt." But in Gordius' time, at least, the Telmessians must have possessed some villages on the plain. See Arrian, p. 30.

hill, and there sacrifice to Jupiter. Gordius in-
 treated her to accompany him, that the sacrifice
 might be performed in due form. She obeyed.
 Gordius took her to wife. She bore him a son,
 Midas, who, when he arrived at manhood, was
 distinguished by his beauty and valour. It should
 seem that the father of Midas had, in consequence
 of his marriage, settled among the Telmessians,
 with whose arts his son would naturally become
 acquainted. The Phrygians, at that time, were ha-
 rassed by cruel seditions; they consulted an oracle,
 who told them, that a chariot should soon bring
 them a king, who would appease their tumults.
 While the assembly still deliberated on the answer
 given them by the oracle, Midas arrived in his
 chariot*, accompanied by his parents. The ap-
 pearance of Midas justified the prediction, and an-
 nounced him worthy of royalty. The Phrygians
 elected him King; their seditions ceased; and Mi-
 das, in gratitude to Jupiter, consecrated his father's
 chariot, and suspended it by a cord made of the
 inner rind of the cornel-tree, the knot of which
 was so nicely tied, that no eye could perceive
 where it began or ended. Whether Alexander un-
 tied, or cut the knot, is left uncertain by histo-
 rians†; but all agree that his followers retired

* The Greek word *αμαξα* expresses either a chariot or a waggon. Perhaps neither the name, nor the thing were then distinguished in Phrygia. Curtius tells us this *αμαξα* was "*cultu haud sans a vilioribus vulgatisque usu abhorrens*," l. ii. c. i. p. 10.

† Curtius, l. iii. c. i. says, he cut it with his sword. Plutarch says he untied it. Vit. Alexand. p. 1236. Arrian gives both accounts.

CHAP. with complete conviction that he had fulfilled the
 XXXVII oracle. A seasonable storm of thunder confirmed
 their credulity; and the belief, that their master
 was destined to be lord of Asia, could not fail to
 facilitate that event.

Treachery
 of Alexan-
 der, the
 son of
 Æropus.

The rapid progress of Alexander, and his con-
 tinual exertions during that season of the year
 when armies are little accustomed to keep the field,
 tends to heighten our surprise at the inactivity of
 Darius, an ambitious prince, who had signalised his
 valour against the fiercest nations of Asia. But
 Darius, corrupted by the honours of royalty, em-
 ployed very different weapons against Alexander,
 from those by which the champion of Ochus had
 defeated the warlike chief of the Cardusians.
 Instead of opposing the invader in the field, he
 hoped to destroy him by the arm of an assassin.
 Many traitors were suborned for this infamous
 purpose, but none with greater prospect of success
 than Alexander, the son of Æropus. This man
 owed his life to the clemency of the son of Philip,
 when his brothers Heromenes and Arrabæus were
 condemned as accessory to the murder of that
 prince. He was numbered among the companions
 of Alexander, and had recently been entrusted with
 the command of the Thessalian cavalry, after the

and the latter on the authority of Aristobulus, which is therefore the
 more probable.

* Arrian, p. 31.

† Darius killed a warrior of that nation who challenged the bravest of
 the Persians to single combat. This exploit gained him the govern-
 ment of Armenia, and made him be afterwards deemed worthy of the Ar-
 sian throne. Diodor. l. xvii. p. 462.

nomination of Calas, who held that high office, to the government of Phrygia. The promise of ten thousand talents, and of the kingdom of Macedon, obliterated his gratitude and seduced his allegiance. But his treason escaped not the vigilance of Parmenio*, who communicated the intelligence to his master, while encamped in the neighbourhood of Phaselis. By the same faithful minister, the unworthy son of Æropus was seized, and committed to safe custody.

Darius, without desisting from his intrigues, finally had recourse to arms. His troops were assembled in the plains of Babylon. They consisted of an hundred thousand Persians, of whom thirty thousand were cavalry. The Medes supplied almost half that number, and the Armenians almost as many as the Medes. The Barcani, the Hyrcanians, the inhabitants of the Caspian shores, and nations more obscure or more remote, sent their due proportion of cavalry and infantry for this immense army, which, including thirty thousand Greek mercenaries in the Persian service, is said

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The army
of Darius
marches
from Up-
per Asia.

* According to Arrian, p. 25. a swallow shared the honour with Parmenio. While Alexander was asleep at mid-day, the swallow hovered round his head, perching sometimes on one side of his couch, and sometimes on another. Its incessant chattering roused the King from sleep: but being exceedingly fatigued, he gently removed the bird with his hand. Instead of endeavouring to escape, the swallow perched on his head, and ceased not being extremely noisy and troublesome, till he thoroughly awoke. The prodigy was immediately communicated to Aristander the Telmessian soothsayer, who declared that a conspiracy was formed against the King by one of his domestics and friends; but that it would certainly be discovered, because the swallow is a domestic bird, a friend to man, and exceedingly loquacious.

CHAP. to have amounted to six hundred thousand spears;
 XXXVII. The magnificence of the Persians had not diminished since the days of Xerxes; neither had their military knowledge increased. Their master was taken by the same contrivance employed by that monarch*. Ten thousand men were separated from the rest, formed into a compact body, and surrounded by a palisade. The whole army, passing successively into this inclosure, were rather measured than numbered, by their generals. Nothing could exceed the splendour that surrounded Darius; the trappings of his horses, the rich materials, and nice adjustment of his chariot; the profusion of jewels which covered his royal mantle, vest, and tiara. The dress, and even the armour of his guards, were adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones. He was attended by his family, his treasures, and his concubines, all escorted by numerous bands of horse and foot. His courtiers and generals copied, as usual, too faithfully, the effeminate manners of their master. But, before

Alexander passes the northern Gate of Cilicia.

While this pageant, for it deserves not the name of army, slowly advanced towards Lower Asia, Alexander left Gordium, and marched to Andysa, a city in that part of Phrygia afterwards called Galatia. In that place, he received an embassy from the Paphlagonians, who surrendered to him the sovereignty of their province, but intreated that his army might not enter their borders,

* See vol. i. c. ix. p. 419, & seqq.

† Propinquitum, Amicorumque, conjugum, amicis agnatisque prædium. Q. Curtius, l. iii. c. 3. & Diodor. l. xvi. p. 500.

He granted their request, and commanded them to obey Calas, satrap of Phrygia. Alexander then marched victorious through Cappadocia; and Sabctas being appointed to the administration of that extensive province; the army encamped at the distance of six miles from the Cilician frontier, at a place which, since the memorable expedition performed and described by Xenophon, retained the name of Cyrus' Camp. Towards the south, the rich plain of Cilicia is washed by the sea, and surrounded on three sides by lofty and almost impervious mountains. Arsames, governor of that country, had sent a body of troops to guard a post called the Gates, and the only pass which leads from Cappadocia into Cilicia. Apprised of this measure, Alexander left Parmenio and the heavy-armed troops in the camp of Cyrus. At the first watch of the night, he led the targeteers, archers, and Agrians, to surprise the Persian forces stationed at the northern Gate of Cilicia. The Barbarians fled on his approach; and the pusillanimous Arsames, to whom the whole province was entrusted by Darius, prepared to plunder, and then abandon, his own capital of Tarsus. But he had only time to save his person. The rapidity of Alexander prevented the destruction of that city; where the inhabitants received him as their deliverer.

At Tarsus, Alexander was detained by a malady, occasioned by excessive fatigue; or, as others say, by imprudently bathing, when heated, in the cold waters of the Cydnus, which flows through that

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Falls sick at Tarsus.

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city, in a clear and rocky channel\*. Philip, the Acarnanian, was the only person who despaired not of his life. While this skilful physician administered a draught to his royal patient, a letter came from Parmenio, warning Alexander to beware of Philip, who had been bribed by Darius to poison him. Alexander took the potion, and gave Philip the letter; so that the physician read, while the King drank; a transaction which proved either his contempt of death, or his unshaken confidence in his friends; but which, by the admiration of his contemporaries and posterity†, has been construed into a proof of both.

Alexander  
marches  
to Mallos.

The sickness of Alexander interrupted not the operations of the army. Parmenio was dispatched to seize the only pass on mount Amanus, which divides Cilicia from Syria. The King soon followed, having in one day's march reached Anchialos an ancient city of vast extent, and surrounded with walls of prodigious thickness. The greatest curiosity of Anchialos was the tomb of Sardanapalus, distinguished by the statue of that effeminate tyrant in the attitude of clapping his hands; and by an Assyrian inscription, breathing the true spirit of modern Epicurism. The original ran in verse to the following purpose: "Sardanapalus, son of

\* Curtius gives another reason for its excessive coldness: "Frigidissimus quippe nulla riparum amenitate inumbratus," l. iii. c. 16. From his laboured description of this river, it seems as if he imagined that water must have possessed very extraordinary qualities, which could do harm to Alexander.

† See Arrian, p. 32. Curtius, l. iii. c. 5.

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Having arrived at Mallos, an Argive colony at the eastern extremity of Cilicia, Alexander learned that Darius lay with his army in the extensive plain of Soches, in the province of Comagene, distant only two days' march from the Cilician frontier. The hostile armies were separated by the mountains which divide Cilicia and Syria. Alexander hastened to pass the straits called the Syrian Gates, proceeded southwards along the bay of Issus, and encamped before the city Mariandrus. At this place he received a very extraordinary piece of intelligence. His delay in Cilicia, which had been occasioned by sickness, and by the many pious ceremonies with which he gratefully thanked Heaven for his recovery, was ascribed to very different motives by Darius and his flatterers. That perfidious race, the eternal bane of kings, easily persuaded

\* The word translated "sport," is *παίζω* in Arrian, p. 32. But that author says, the Assyrian original had a more lascivious meaning. Plut. *Quæst. æt. de Fortuna Alexand.* translates it *ἀποδιδόναι*, "veneri in-  
gula."

† Mr. de Guignes, so deservedly celebrated for his Oriental learning, proves this inscription to be entirely conformable to the style and manners of the East. See *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* tom. xxxiv. p. 416, & seqq.

† Processions with lighted torches, sacrifices to Esculapius, gymnastic and musical contests. . Arrian, l. ii. p. 33.

|| Arrian expresses this sentiment with more than his usual energy:   
 Τὸν κατὰ φύσιν ζῶντα τὴν καὶ ζωοποιοντα οὐ καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς κατασκευάζει.



CHAP. the vain credulity of their master, that Alexander  
 XXXVII. shunned his approach. The proud resentment of  
 Darius was exasperated by the insupportable fear of  
 his adversary; with the impatience of a deep wound  
 longed to come to action; and not suspecting  
 that Alexander would traverse the Syrian Gates  
 in search of the enemy, he hastily determined to  
 pass, in an opposite direction\*, the straits of Amanus,  
 in quest of Alexander. This fatal measure  
 was carried into immediate execution, notwithstanding  
 the strong representations of Amyatas  
 the Macedonian, and of all Darius' Greek coun-  
 sellors, who unanimously exhorted him to wait  
 the enemy in his present advantageous position. In  
 the language of antiquity, an irresistible fate,  
 which had determined that the Greeks should con-  
 quer the Persians, as the Persians had conquered  
 the Medes, and the Medes the Assyrians, impelled  
 Darius to his ruin. Having passed the defiles of  
 Amanus, he directed his march southward to the  
 bay of Issus, and took the city of that name, which  
 contained, under a feeble guard, the sick and  
 wounded Macedonians, who had not been able to  
 follow the army in its expeditious march across the

\* These movements are explained only by Arrian, Diodorus, Plutarch, and Curtius, not attending to the geography of the country, are inconsistent and unintelligible.

† Amyatas, though an exile, was not a Satrap, as Diodorus says, but a friend of Alexander, that Alexander would certainly come to any place where the Persians encamped. Arrian, p. 34.

‡ Aristomenes the Phrygian, Bithor the Acarnanian, Timon the son of Mentor, the Rhodian, and others mentioned by Arrian.

§ Arrian, Plut. Diodor. Curt. :

mountains. The Persians put these unhappy men to death, with shocking circumstances of cruelty, little thinking that Alexander was now behind, prepared to avenge their fate.

That enlightened prince who could scarcely believe the folly of Darius, sent a small flat-bottomed vessel, to reconnoitre his motions. This vessel speedily returned to Alexander, and saluted him with the agreeable news that his enemies were now in his hands. Having summoned an assembly, the King forgot none of those topics of encouragement which the occasion so naturally suggested, since the meanest Macedonian soldier could discern the injudicious movements of the Persians, who had quitted a spacious plain, to entangle themselves among intricate mountains, where their numerous cavalry, in which they chiefly excelled, could perform no essential service. In preparing for this important contest, the spirits of the Macedonians were elevated by a recollection of many fortunate occurrences. Ptolemy, as they had recently learned, had made himself master of the strong fortresses in Caria. The brave Memnon indeed had escaped; but that able commander, who, to pave the way for invading Macedon, had attacked the Grecian isles with his fleet, was since dead, and his successors in command, after irritating the islanders by their insolence and oppression, were defeated in all their designs by the vigilance of Antipater. The army of Alexander had lately increased, by many

\* Χαλκὸς αἰγυγμῶς ἀποκτίνῃ, Arrian, p. 34. It is remarkable that he ascribes this barbarity to Darius himself.

CHAP. VOLUNTARY ACCESSIONS OF THE AGATHI, WHO ADMIRING HIS  
 XXXVII. courage, mildness, and uninterrupted good fortune;  
 and the soldiers, who the preceding year had been  
 sent to winter in Europe, had not only retained the  
 camp, but brought with them numerous levies from  
 Greece, Macedon, and all the adjoining countries.  
 By men thus disposed to indulge the most sanguine  
 hopes, the military harangue of their prince was re-  
 ceived with a joyous ardour. They embraced each  
 other; they embraced their admired commander;  
 and his countenance confirming their alacrity, they  
 entreated to be led to battle\*.

Disposition of both parties.

Alexander commanded them first to refresh their  
 bodies; but immediately dispatched some horse and  
 archers to clear the road to Issus. In the evening  
 he followed with his whole army; and about mid-  
 night, took possession of the Syrian straits. The  
 soldiers were then allowed a short repose, sufficient  
 guards being posted on the surrounding eminences.  
 At dawn, the army was in motion, marching by its  
 flank, while the passage continued narrow; and  
 new columns being successively brought up, as the  
 mountains gradually opened. Before reaching the  
 river, Pinarus, on the opposite bank of which the  
 enemy were encamped, the Macedonians had  
 formed in order of battle; Alexander leading the  
 right wing, and the left being commanded by Parme-  
 nio. They continued to advance, till their right  
 was flanked by a mountain, and their left by the  
 sea, from which Parmenio was ordered not to re-  
 cede. Darius being apprised of the enemy's ap-

opportunity detached a body of fifty thousand cavalry and light infantry across the Pinarus, that the remainder might have room to form without confusion. His Greek mercenaries, amounting to thirty thousand, he posted directly opposite to the Macedonian phalanx. The Greeks were flanked on both sides by double that number of Barbarians, also heavy armed. The nature of the ground admitted not more troops to be ranged in front; but as the mountain on Alexander's left sloped inwards, Darius placed on that sinusity twenty thousand men, who could see the enemy's rear, though it appears not that they could approach or annoy it. Behind the first line the rest of the Barbarians were ranged, according to their various nations, in close and unserviceable ranks; Darius being every where encumbered by the vastness of a machine, which he had not skill to wield\*.

His pusillanimity was more fatal than his ignorance. When he perceived the Macedonians advancing, he commanded his men to maintain their post on the Pinarus, the bank of which was in some places high and steep; where the access seemed easier, he gave orders to raise a rampart; precautions which shewed the enemy, that even before the battle began, the mind of Darius was already conquered. Alexander, meanwhile, rode along

The battle of Issus. Olymp. cxi. 4. A. C. 333.

\* Artin, p. 36.

“ And thence he immediately appeared to those about Alexander to be already enslaved in his mind ” In those times, slavery was the natural consequence of being conquered in battle.

CHAP. the ranks, exhorting, by name, not only the commanders of the several brigades, but the tribunes and inferior officers, and even such captains of the auxiliaries as were distinguished by rank, or ennobled by merit. Perceiving it necessary to moderate the martial ardour that prevailed, he commanded his forces to advance with a regular and slow step, lest the phalanx should fluctuate through too eager a contention. Their motion quickened, as they proceeded within reach of the enemy's darts. Alexander, with those around him, then sprung into the river. Their impetuosity frightened the Barbarians, who scarcely waited the first shock\*. But the Greek mercenaries perceiving that, by the rapidity and success of Alexander's assault, the Macedonians were bent towards the right wing, which was separated from the centre, seized the decisive moment of rushing into the interval, when the phalanx was disjointed. A fierce engagement ensued, the Greeks eager to regain the honour of their name, the Macedonians ambitious to maintain the unsullied glory of the phalanx. This desperate action proved fatal to Ptolemy the son of Seleucus, and other officers of distinction, to the number of an hundred and twenty. Meanwhile, the Macedonian right wing having repelled the enemy with great slaughter, wheeled to the left, and animated by recent victory, finally prevailed

\* They did, however, wait it; for Arrian says, *οἱ δὲ πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις*. The *ἄλλοις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις* when the darts and javelins ceased, and the contending parties came to the use of manual, instead of missile weapons.

against the obstinacy of the Greeks. A body of Persian horse still maintained the battle against the Thessalian cavalry, and did not quit the field, till informed that Darius had betaken himself to flight. CHAP. XXIV.

The overthrow of the Persians was now manifest on all sides. Their cavalry and infantry suffered equally in the rout; for their horsemen were heavy-armed, and encumbered by the narrowness of the roads, and their own terror. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, says, that the pursuers filled up the ditches with dead bodies. The number of the slain was computed at an hundred and ten thousand, among whom were many satraps and nobles. Route of the Persians.

The Great King had discovered little obstinacy in defending the important objects at stake. His left wing was no sooner repelled by Alexander, than he drove away in his chariot, accompanied by his courtiers. When the road grew rough and mountainous, he continued his flight on horseback, leaving his shield, his mantle, and his bow, which were found by the Macedonians. Alexander, who had received a troublesome wound in the thigh, judged it improper to pursue him, till the Greek mercenaries were dispersed; the approach of night facilitated Darius' escape. Escape of Darius.

\* Arrian. I. ii. p. 36, & seqq.

† Idem, *ibid.*

‡ Chares, cited by Plutarch, says, that Alexander received this wound from the hand of Darius; but the silence of Alexander's letter to Antipater, in which he gave an account of the battle, and of his wound on the thigh, refutes that improbable report.

## CHAP.

## XXVII

The captives and booty.

The Persian camp afforded abundant proof of Asiatic luxury and opulence\*, not to be obtained, however, in money; but, three thousand talents, the magnificent treasures, which accompanied the Great King, being deposited, previous to the battle, in the neighbouring city of Damascus. This rich booty was afterwards seized by order of Alexander, who found in the camp a booty more precious, the wife and daughters of Darius, his mother Hystambis, and his infant son. In an age when prisoners of war were synonymous with slaves, Alexander behaved to his captives according to their respective ages, with filial duty or with parental tenderness. In his chaste attention to Statira, the fairest beauty of the East, his conduct forms a remarkable contrast with that of his admired Achilles, whom he equaled in valour, but far surpassed in humanity. These illustrious princesses bore their own misfortunes with patience; but burst into dreadful lamentations, when informed by an eunuch that he had seen the mantle of Darius in the hands of a Macedonian soldier. Alexander sent to assure them that Darius yet lived; and next day visited them in person, accompanied by Hephæstion, the most affectionate

\* Among other things of value in the tent of Darius, was found a basket of exquisite workmanship, adorned with jewels. It was employed to hold Darius' perfumes.—Alexander said, "I use no perfumes but shall put into it something more precious" This was the *Uliad* of Homer, corrected by Aristotle, and often mentioned by ancient writers: *Uliad* is the name of the basket. Strabo, l. xiii. p. 88. Plut. in Alexand.

† Arrian iii. c. 22. Conf. Arrian l. iv. c. 20.

of his friend†. Sycigambis approached to prostrate herself before the conqueror, according to the custom of the East; but not knowing the King, as their dress was alike, she turned to Hephestion. Hephestion, suddenly stepping back, Sycigambis saw her mistake, and was covered with confusion. "Ye are mistaken, madam," said the King, "Hephestion is likewise Alexander."

CHAP.  
XXVII

The virtues of Alexander long continued to expand with his prosperity; but he was never more inimitably great, than after the battle of Issus. The city of Soli, in Cilicia, though inhabited by a Grecian colony, had discovered uncommon zeal in the cause of Darius. To punish this unnatural apostasy from Greece, Alexander demanded a heavy contribution from Soli; but, after the victory, he remitted this fine. Impelled by the same generous magnanimity, he released the Athenian captives taken at the battle of the Granicus; a favour which he had sternly refused, in the dawn of his fortune. In Damascus, several Grecian ambassadors were found among the captives. Alexander ordered them to be brought into his presence. The solitans and Dionysodorus, the Thebans, he instantly declared free, observing that the misfortunes of their city justly entitled the Thebans to apply to Darius, and to every prince or individual

The virtues of Alexander expand with his prosperity.

\* Alexander, with his usual discernment, characterised the personal affection of Hephestion: "Craterus loves the prince; Hephestion loves Alexander." Plut. in Alexand.

† Περικλῆς καὶ προκρίτης. Arrian, l. ii, p. 39.

‡ Curtius, l. iii. c. xii. Arrian, p. 39.



CHAP. likely to relieve them. Iphicrates, the Athenian,  
 XXXVII. he treated with the respect which appeared due  
 both to his country and to his father. Euthycles  
 the Spartan, alone he detained in safe custody,  
 because Sparta sullenly rejected the friendship of  
 Macedon. But as his clemency still increased with  
 his power\*, he afterwards released Euthycles.

\* Arrian, p. 42.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

*Siege of Tyre.—Desperate Resistance, of Gaza.—Easy Conquest of Egypt.—Foundation of Alexandria.—Alexander visits the Temple of Jupiter Ammon.—Marches into Assyria.—Battle of Gaugamela.—Darius betrayed and slain.—Alexander pursues the Murderers of Darius.—Bactrian and Scythian War.—Siege of the Sogdian Fortress.—Surrender of Chorienes.—Commotions in Greece—Checked by Antipater.—The Cause of Ctesiphon and Demosthenes.—Æschines banished.—State of Greece during Alexander's Reign.*

IN his precipitate flight across the ridges of Amanus, Darius was gradually joined by about four thousand men, chiefly Greeks. Under this feeble escort, he departed hastily from Sochos, pursued his march eastward, and crossed the Euphrates at Thapsacus, eager to interpose that deep and rapid stream between himself and the conqueror\*. Alexander's inclinations to seize the person of his adversary could not divert him from the judicious plan of war to which he immoveably adhered. In a council of his friends, he declared his opinion, that it would be highly imprudent

CHAP XXXVIII.  
Alexander receives an embassy from Tyre. Olymp. cxi. 4. A. C. 333.

\* 'Οι ταχιστα μισον αυτην τε και τε Αλεξανδρον τον Ευφρατην ποταμον. Adrian, p. 40.

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XXXVIII.

to attempt the conquest of Babylon, until he had thoroughly subdued the maritime provinces; because, should he be carried with an unseasonable celerity into Upper Asia, while the enemy commanded the sea, the war might be removed to Europe, where the Lacedæmonians were open enemies, and the Athenians doubtful friends. Having appointed governors of Cilicia and Coelo-Syria, he therefore directed his march southward along the Phœnician coast. Aradus, Marathus, and Sidon\*, readily opened their gates. The Tyrians sent a submissive embassy of their most illustrious citizens, among whom was the son of Azelmicus, their king, who had himself embarked with Autophradates in the Persian fleet. They humbly informed Alexander, that the community† from which they came, was prepared to obey his commands. Having complimented the city and the ambassadors, he desired them to acquaint their countrymen, that he intended shortly to enter Tyre, and to perform sacrifice there to Hercules‡.

\* I omit the story of Abdelermimus, whom Alexander raised from the humble condition of a gardener, to the throne of Sidon. Vid. Curt. l. iv c. 1. Diodorus, l. xvii. relates the same story as happening in Tyre. Plutarch, de Fortun. Alexand. translates the scene to Ephesus. Amidst such inconsistencies, the silence of Arrian seemed worthy of imitation.

† Arrian says, that these ambassadors were *ex patribus civitatis*. It should seem that the King of Tyre was a very limited prince, and the government rather republican than monarchical.

‡ The reader may recollect, that Philip sent a similar message to Athas, King of the Scythians. Such pious pretences, were often employed by antiquity to justify very unwarrantable transactions.

Upon this alarming intelligence, the Tyrians discovered much firmness. A second embassy assured Alexander of their unalterable respect, but at the same time communicated to him their determined resolution, that neither the Persians nor the Macedonians should ever enter their walls. This message appears remarkable in a nation of merchants, long unaccustomed to war\*. But the resources of their wealth and commerce seemed to have elevated the courage, instead of softening the character, of the Tyrians. Their city, which, in the language of the East, was styled the eldest daughter of Sidon†, had long reigned queen of the sea. The purple shell-fish, which is found in great abundance on their coast‡, or rather their exclusive knowledge of the kermes, which affords a beautiful red colour, put them in possession of a most lucrative branch of trade, and confined chiefly to the Tyrians the advantage of clothing the princes and nobles in most civilized countries of antiquity||. Tyre was separated from the

\* Old Tyre was built on the continent by the Sidonians, 1252 B. C. It was besieged by Salmanesar, 719 B. C.; and by Nebuchadnezer, 572 B. C. The latter took the place after a siege of thirteen years; but part of the inhabitants had previously fled with their effects to a neighbouring island, and founded the city described in the text. Vid. Josephus I. viii. cap. ii. I. ix. cap. xiv. & I. x. cap. xi.

† Isaiah, xxiii. 12.

‡ Strabo, I. vi. p. 521.

|| Homer, Herodot. &c. passim. See likewise vol. I. p. 336. Mr. Bruce, in his Travels, treats the story of the purple shell-fish with contempt; and supposes the Phœnicians concealed under this disguise, their knowledge of cochineal; had he said kermes, his supposition might be approved, as agreeing well with the artful character of the Phœnicians.

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XANVIII



continent by a frith half a mile broad, its walls were an hundred feet\* in height, and of proportionate solidity. The convenience of its situation, the capaciousness of its harbours, and the industrious ingenuity of its inhabitants, rendered it the commercial capital of the world. Its magazines were plentifully provided with military and naval stores, and it was peopled by numerous and skilful artificers in stone, wood, and iron.

Alexander  
besieges  
Tyre.  
Olymp.  
cxii 1.  
A. C. 332.

Notwithstanding the strength of the city, Alexander determined to form the siege of Tyre; and the difficulty of an undertaking, which seemed necessary in itself, and essential to the success of still more important enterprises, only stimulated the activity of a prince, who knew that, on many emergencies, boldness is the greatest prudence. The first operation which he directed, was to run a mole from the continent to the walls of Tyre, where the sea was about three fathom deep. The necessity of this measure, arose from the imperfection of the battering engines of antiquity, which had little power, except at small distances. On the side of the continent, the work was carried on with great alacrity; but when the Macedonians approached the city, they were much incommoded by the depth of water, and exceedingly galled by every kind of missile weapon from the battlements. The Tyrians, likewise, having the command of the sea, annoyed the workmen from their galleys, and re-

Throws a  
mole  
across the  
frith;

\* Arrian says one hundred and fifty feet. The numbers probably are erroneous.

† Plutarch, Curtius, Arrian.

tailed the completion of their labours. To resist these assaults, Alexander erected, on the furthest projecture of the mole, two wooden towers, on which he placed his engines, and which he covered with leather and raw hides to resist the ignited darts and fire-ships of the enemy. This contrivance, however, the ingenuity of his adversaries soon rendered ineffectual. Having procured a huge hulk, they filled it with dry twigs, pitch, sulphur, and other combustibles. Toward the prow, they raised two masts, each of which was armed with a double yard; from whose extremities were suspended vast caldrons, filled with whatever might add to the violence of the conflagration. Having prepared this uncommon instrument of destruction, they patiently waited a favourable wind. The hulk was then towed into the sea by two gallees. As she approached the mole, the rowers set her on fire, and escaped by swimming. The works of the Macedonians were soon thrown into a blaze. The enemy, sailing forth in boats, prevented them from extinguishing the flames; and the labour of many weeks was thus in one day reduced to ruins\*.

The perseverance of Alexander was proof against such accidents. He immediately commanded new engines to be made, and a new mole to be raised, stronger and broader than the preceding. The orders of a prince, who directed every operation in person, and whose bodily toil exceeded those of the meanest soldier, were sure of being heard with re-

Alexander  
raises a  
new mole

\* Arrian, p. 44, & seqq.

CHAP.  
XXXVIII.

His mili-  
tary and  
naval re-  
inforce-  
ments.

spect and obeyed with alacrity! The pains of the  
Tyre afforded abundance of stone and wood, was  
brought from Anti-Libanus; and it would seem  
that a roving party of Arabs having disturbed the  
Macedonian workmen, were repelled by Alexander,  
which gave rise to the idle report of his Arabian con-  
quest. By incredible exertions, the mole was at  
length built, and the battering engines were erected.  
The arrival of four thousand Peloponnesian forces  
seasonably reinforced Alexander, and revived the  
courage of his troops, exhausted by fatigue and  
dejected by defeat. At the same time the fleets  
of the maritime provinces which he had subdued,  
came to offer their assistance in an undertaking,  
which could scarcely have proved successful, while  
the Tyrians commanded the sea. The squadrons  
of Lower Asia were joined by the naval force of  
Rhodes and Cyprus. The whole armament of  
Alexander amounted to two hundred and twenty-  
four vessels†, so that the Tyrians, who hitherto

Curtius confounds Anti-Libanus with Mount Libanus. It would  
be endless to notice his errors, exaggerations, and fictions in the ac-  
count of this siege, which is one of the most romantic passages in his  
history. Curtius writes to the fancy, not to the judgment. Those  
readers of a certain taste the picturesque beauties of his style will atone  
for errors in matter of fact. He may be allowed to raise an imaginary  
world, who can describe it like Curtius. "Tum infirmos, quos  
paulatim levati, deinde, scripti, yente, capite, ac pedibus, et inter  
se navigia collidere. Jamque scindi cesserant, vincula, quibus conser-  
quadrantes erant, rursus tabulata, in cum ingenti fragore in profundum  
secum milites trahere." It is Alexander, whose notions he disguises  
and renders incredible, not the reader, whose fancy he amuses, that has  
just cause of anger with Curtius.

† Curtius, l. iv. c. iii. says, that it consisted of one hundred  
and eighty sail. Plutarch. in Alexand. says, that the fleet of

confided in their fleet, now retired behind the defences of their ports for safety.

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XXXVII.

Singular operations of the siege.

But these persevering islanders, though they proudly declined an unequal combat, were forsaken neither by their activity, nor their courage. The hulks and gallees\*, destined to advance the battering engines against their walls, were assailed with continual showers of ignited arrows†, and other missile weapons, which came with peculiar effect from wooden towers newly raised on their lofty battlements. This distant hostility retarded, but could not prevent, the approaches of the enemy. The purpose of the Tyrians was better effected by casting down huge stones into the sea, which hindered access to the walls. To clear these incumbrances required the perseverance of the Macedonians, and the animating presence of Alexander. Before the work could be accomplished, the enemy advanced in covered vessels, and cut the cables of the hulks employed in that laborious service. Alexander commanded a squadron to advance and repel the Tyrians. Yet even this did not facilitate the removal of the bar; for the islanders, being expert divers, plunged under water, and again

Tyre was blocked up with two hundred triremes. Arrian distinctly mentions the number and species of ships sent by each city in assistance. From Macedon there came, he says a vessel of fifty oars, *σπινθηροειδής*; a circumstance which proves that, on this emergency, Alexander had taken pains to collect ships from all quarters.

\* Such vessels were used for this purpose, as were the wooden castles. Arrian, p. 46

† *σπινθηροειδής*



C H A P  
XXXVIII.



The Ty-  
rians de-  
feated at  
SZA.

cutting the cables, set the Macedonian vessels adrift. It thus became necessary to prepare chains, which were used instead of ropes, by which contrivance the hulks were secured in firm anchorage; the bank of stones was removed, and the battering engine advanced to the walls.

In this extremity the Tyrians ventured to attack the Cyprian squadron, stationed at the mouth of the harbour which looked towards Sidon. The boldness of this measure could only be surpassed by the deliberate valour with which it was carried into execution. The mouth of the haven they had previously covered with spread sails, to conceal their operations from the enemy. Mid-day was fixed for the hour of attack, at which time the Greeks and Macedonians reposed and refreshed themselves, and Alexander commonly retired to his pavilion, erected near the harbour which looked towards Egypt. The best sailing vessels were carefully selected from the whole fleet, and manned with the most expert rowers, and the most resolute soldiers, all ensured to the sea, and well armed for fight. At first they came forth in a line, slowly and silently; but, having proceeded within sight of the Cyprians, they at once clashed their oars, raised a shout, and advanced a-breast of each other to the attack. Several of the enemy's ships were sunk at the first

\* They consisted, says Arrian, in five choice quinqueremes, as many quadriremes, and seven triremes. See note, vol. i. p. 208 & seqq.

ships; others were dashed in pieces against the shore. Alexander, who had fortunately that day tarried but a short time in his pavilion, was no sooner informed of this desperate sally, than, with admirable presence of mind, he immediately ordered such vessels as were ready, to block up the mouth of the haven, and thereby prevent the remainder of the Tyrian fleet from joining their victorious companions. Meanwhile, with several quinquereme, and five trireme; gallees, hastily prepared, he sailed round to attack the Tyrians. The besieged observing from their walls the approach of Alexander, endeavoured, by shouts and signals, to recall their ships. They had scarcely changed their course, when they were assailed by the besiegers, and soon rendered unserviceable. The men saved themselves by swimming; few vessels escaped; two were taken at the very entrance of the harbour.

The issue of these naval operations decided the fate of Tyre. Utawed by the hostile fleet, the Macedonians now fearlessly advanced their engines on all sides. Amidst repeated assaults during two days, the besiegers displayed the ardour of enthusiasm\*, the besieged the fury of despair. From

CHAP.  
XXIV.  
Tyre taken by assault  
Olymp. cxii. l.  
A. C. 332.  
July.

\* From the beginning, the difficulties of the siege had appeared almost insurmountable to the soldiers. "But Alexander," says Curtius, "hæc quædam rudis, tractandi militares animos, speciem sibi Herculis in somno oblatam esse pronunciat, dextram porrigentis." The diviners thence concluded, as Arrian tells us, that Tyre would be taken, but that it would be an Herculean labour. Alexander continued throughout the siege to employ the aids of superstition. At one time it was said, that Apollo was about to leave Tyre, and

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XXXVIII

towers equal in height to the walls, the Greeks and Macedonians fought hand to hand with the enemy. By throwing spontoon's across, the bravest sometimes passed over, even to the battlements. In other parts, the Tyrians successfully employed hooks and grappling irons to remove the assailants. On those who attempted scaling ladders, they poured vessels of burning sand, which penetrated to the bone. The vigour of the attack was opposed by as vigorous a resistance. The shock of the battering engines was deadened by green hides and coverlets of wool, and whenever an opening was effected, the bravest combatants advanced to defend the breach. But time and fatigue, which exhausted the vigour of the enemy, only confirmed the perseverance of Alexander. On the third day his engines assailed the walls; and the fleet, divided into two squadrons, attacked the opposite harbours. A wide breach being effected, Alexander commanded the hulks which carried the engines, to retire, and others, bearing the scaling ladders, to advance, that his soldiers might enter the town over the ruins. The targeteers, headed by Admetus, first mounted the breach. This gallant commander was slain by a spear; but Alexander,

that the Tyrians had fastened him with golden chains to prevent his elopement. At another, Alexander dreamed that a satyr playing before him, long eluded his grasp, but finally allowed himself to be caught. The augurs divined the word *Ierupac*, a Satyr, into two syllables, *Ia Tyre*, Tyre is thine. By such coarse artifices, raised according to circumstances, have the greatest achievements been effected.

who was present whenever danger called, immediately followed with the royal band of *Companiones*. At the same time the Phœnician fleet broke into the harbour of Egypt, and the Cyprians into that of Sidon. After their walls were taken, the townsmen still rallied, and prepared for defence. The length of the siege, and still more the cruelty of the Tyrians, who having taken some Grecian vessels from Sidon, butchered their crews on the top of their wall, and threw their bodies into the sea, in sight of the whole Macedonian army, provoked the indignation of Alexander, and exasperated the fury of the victors. Eight thousand Tyrians were slain: thirty thousand were reduced to servitude.\* The principal magistrates, together with some Carthaginians who had come to worship the gods of their mother-country, took refuge in the temple of Tyrian Hercules. They were saved by the clemency or piety of Alexander, who had lost four hundred men in this obstinate siege of seven months†.

The conquest of Phœnicia was followed by the submission of the neighbouring province of Judæa, C H A P. XXXVIII.

\* Curtius, l. iv. c. iv. says, that fifteen thousand Tyrians were saved by their Sidonian brethren, who clandestinely embarked them in their ships, and transported them to Sidon. This circumstance, omitted by Arrian, deprives some probability from the vigorous resistance which nineteen years afterwards, Tyre again made to the arms of Antiochus. Vid. Diodor. Sicul. p. 702—704.

† Arrian, l. i. p. 44—50.

‡ The Greek historians of Alexander are silent concerning his journey to Jerusalem, and his extraordinary transactions there, do-

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XXXVIII.

Desperate  
resistance  
of Gaza.

But in the road leading to Egypt, the progress of the conqueror was interrupted by the strong city of Gaza, situate on a high hill, near the confines of the Arabian desert\*. This place, distant about two miles from the sea, and surrounded by marshes or a deep sand, which rendered it extremely difficult of access, was held for Darius by the loyalty of Batist, an eunuch, who had prepared to resist Alexander by hiring Arabian troops, and by pro-

scribed by Josephus, I. xi. c. viii. This story, very flattering to the Jews, is inconsistent with the narrative of Arrian, copied in the text. As all Palestine, except Gaza, had submitted to his arms, "Τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ τῆς Παλαιστίνης προσεχάμεντα ἦν" Alexander had no occasion to march against Jerusalem. The conversation between Alexander, Parmenio, and the high-priest Jadduah, as related by Josephus, is likewise at variance with well authenticated events in the reign of Alexander. When the high-priest approached to implore the clemency of the conqueror, Alexander, says the Jewish historian, prostrated himself before that venerable old man; an action which so much surprised Parmenio, that he immediately asked his master: "Why he, whom all the world adored, should himself adore the high-priest of the Jews?" It will appear in the sequel, that Alexander did not require this mark of respect (the *προσκύνησις*) till long after the period alluded to by Josephus: neither could he be accompanied by the Chaldeans, as that writer alleges: much less could the high priest, with propriety, have requested Alexander to permit the Jews settled in Babylon and Media, the free exercise of their religion, before that prince had conquered those countries, or even passed the Euphrates. See this subject farther examined in Moyle's Letters, vol. ii. p. 415. and in l'Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre, p. 65—69

\* Εσχάτη δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν Ἀγρυππὸν αὐτὸν Φοινικὴν ἰσχυρὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας.

\* It is the last inhabited place on the road from Phœnicia to Egypt, on the skirts of the desert."

† Curtius, I. iv. c. vi. calls him Belis; Josephus, I. xi. c. viii. Babbages.

viding copious magazines. The Macedonian engineers\* declared their opinion that Gaza was impracticable. But Alexander, unwilling to incur the disgrace and danger of leaving a strong fortress behind him, commanded a rampart to be raised on the south side of the wall, which seemed least secure against an attack. His engines were scarcely erected, when the garrison made a furious sally, and threw them into flames. It required the presence of the king to save the rampart, and to prevent the total defeat of the Macedonians. Warned by a heavenly admonition†, he had hitherto kept beyond the reach of the enemy's darts; and when the danger of his troops made him forget the divine omen, a weapon, thrown from a catapult, pierced his shield and breastplate, and wounded him in the shoulder. Soon afterwards the engines, which had been used in the siege of Tyre, arrived by sea. A wall of incredible height and breadth‡ was run entirely round the city; the Macedonians raised their batteries; the miners|| were busy at the founda-

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\* *Οἱ μηχανοποιεῖς*, the engine-makers; it should seem that the same persons who made the engines, directed the application of them.

† While Alexander was sacrificing, a bird of prey let fall a stone on his head. According to Aristander the soothsayer, this prodigy portended that the city should be taken, but that Alexander would be exposed to danger in the siege.

‡ *Εὐρος μὲν αὖ δύο σταδίας, ὕψος δὲ αἰ ποδας πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας.* "Two furlongs in breadth, two hundred and fifty feet in height;" but the text is absurdly erroneous.

|| *Ἵπποβοῶντες τε ἀλλή καὶ ἀλλή οὐρυσσομένους.* Arrian, p. 51. This was an uncommon expedient, and used only on great emergencies.

CHAP. lxxviii. tion; breaches were effected; and, after repeated assaults, the city was taken by storm. When the wall was undermined, and their gates in possession of the enemy, the inhabitants still fought desperately, and, without losing ground, perished to a man. Their wives and children were enslaved; and Gaza, being re-peopled from the neighbouring territory, served as a place of arms to restrain the incursions of the Arabs.

Easy conquest of Egypt. Olymp. cxii. 1. A. C. 332.

The obstinate resistance of the obscure fortress of Gaza, was contrasted by the ready submission of the celebrated kingdom of Egypt. In the tenth day of March, Alexander reached the maritime city of Pelusium, to which he had previously sent his fleet, with an intimation, after seizing the ships in the harbour, carefully to examine the neighbouring coasts, lakes, and rivers. His decisive victory at Issus, the shameful flight of Darius, the recent subjugation of Syria and Phœnicia, together with the actually defenceless state of Egypt, (Mazaces, the satrap of that large province, having no Persian, and scarcely any regular troops), opened a ready passage to Memphis, the wealthy capital. There, Alexander was received as sovereign, and immediately afterwards acknowledged by the whole nation; a nation long accustomed to fluctuate between one servitude and another, always ready to obey the first summons of an invader, and ever willing to betray him for a new master. Grateful for his unexampled success,

• Kai ανδρας εντες αυτη μαχιστοι, οι ιασην αναβηται. The highest panegyric, being the very words applied by Agamemnon, Herodotus, &c. to those who fell at Thermopylæ,

the conqueror sacrificed at Memphis to the Egyptian gods, and celebrated in that city gymnastic and musical games, under the direction of Grecian artists, accompanying him for that purpose. Having placed sufficient garrisons both in Memphis and Pelusium, he embarked with the remainder of his forces and sailed down the Nile to Canopus\*.

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At this place, Alexander found abundant occupation for his policy, in a country where there was no opportunity for exercising his valour. Continually occupied with the thoughts, not only of extending, but of improving his conquests, the first glance of his discerning eye perceived what the boasted wisdom of Egypt had never been able to discover. The inspection of the Mediterranean coast, of the Red Sea, of the lake Maræotis, and of the various branches of the Nile, suggested the design of founding a city, which should derive, from nature only, more permanent advantages than the favour of the greatest princes can bestow. Fired with this idea, he not only fixed the situation,† but traced the plan of his intended capital,

Founda-  
tion of  
Alexan-  
dria.

\* *Strabo*, p. 51, & seqq.

† "Egypt," says Baron Tott, who lately surveyed that country with the eye of an engineer and a statesman, "was formed to receive the commerce of Europe, Africa, and the Indies. It stood in need of a harbour, vast, and of easy access. The mouths of the Nile afford neither of these advantages: the only proper situation was distant twelve leagues from the river, and in the heart of a desert. On this spot, which none but a great genius could have pitched on, Alexander built a city, which being joined to the Nile by a navigable canal, became the capital of nations, the centre



CHART. described the circuit of its wall, and assigned the  
 XXXVIII. ground for its squares, market-places, and temples.\* Such was the sagacity of his choice, that within the space of twenty years, Alexandria rose to distinguished eminence among the cities of Egypt and the East, and continued, through all subsequent ages of antiquity, the principal bond of union, the seat of correspondence and commerce, among the civilized nations of the earth.

Alexander  
 visits the  
 temple of  
 Ammon.  
 Olymp.  
 cxi. l.  
 A. C. 332.

In Egypt, an inclination seized Alexander to traverse the southern coast of the Mediterranean; that he might visit the revered temple and oracle of Jupiter Ammon. This venerable shrine was situate in a cultivated spot of five miles in diameter, distant about fifty leagues from the sea, and rising with attractive beauty amidst the sandy deserts of Lybia. Among the African and Asiatic nations, the oracle of Hammon enjoyed a similar authority to that which Delphi had long held in Greece; and, perhaps, the conquest of the East could not have been so easily accomplished by Alexander, had he not previously obtained the sanction of this venerated shrine. Guided by prudence, or impelled by curiosity, he first proceeded two hundred miles westward, along the coast to Parætonius, through a desolate country,

polls of commerce. The trading nations of the East will respect its ruins, heap'd up, by barbarism, and which require, not the assistance of a beneficent hand, to restore the boldest edifice which the human mind ever dared to conceive." *Mém. du Baron de Tott*, t. ii. p. 179.

\* Arrau, l. iii. sub init.

but not destitute of water. He then boldly penetrated towards the south, into the mid-land territory, despising the danger of traversing an ocean of sand, unmarked by trees, mountains or any other object that might direct his course, or vary this gloomy scene of uniform sterility\*. The superstition of the ancients believed him to have been conducted by ravens, or serpents; which, without supposing a miracle, may, agreeably to the natural instinct of animals, have sometimes bent their course through the desert, towards a well-watered and fertile spot, covered with palms and olives. The fountain, which was the source of this fertility, formed not the least curiosity of the place. It was exceedingly cool at mid-day, and warm at mid-night; and, in the intervening time, regularly, every day, underwent all the intermediate degrees of temperature. The adjacent territory produced a fossile salt, which was often dug out in large oblong pieces, clear as crystal. The priests of Ammon inclosed it in boxes of palm-tree, and bestowed it in presents on kings and other illustrious personages; such salt being regarded as purer than that procured from seawater, and therefore preferred for the purpose of sacrifice, by persons curious in their worship.

Alexander admired the nature of the place, consulted the oracle concerning the success of his expedition, and received, as was universally reported

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Alexander settles the government of Egypt.

\* Arrian, p. 53, & seqq. & Curtius, l. iv. c. vii.

† Arrian, *ibid.*

CHAP. a very favourable answer\*. Having thus effected  
 XXXVIII. his purpose at the temple of Ammon, he returned  
 to Memphis, in order finally to settle the affairs of  
 Egypt. The inhabitants of that country were re-  
 instated in the enjoyment of their ancient religion  
 and laws. Two Egyptians were appointed to ad-  
 minister the civil government: but the principal  
 garrisons Alexander prudently entrusted to the  
 command of his most confidential friends; a  
 policy alike recommended by the strength and im-  
 portance of the country, and by the restless temper  
 of its inhabitants.

Darius

COLLECTS AN  
 ARMY FROM  
 HIS EASTERN  
 PROVINCES.

The Macedonians had now extended their arms  
 over Anatolia, Carmania, Syria, and Egypt;  
 countries which anciently formed the seat of arts;  
 and empire, and which actually compose the  
 strength and centre of the Turkish power. But  
 Darius (after all hopes of accommodation had  
 vanished with a conqueror who demanded uncon-  
 ditional submission to his clemency†) still found

\* Vid. Plut. Alexand. p. 680 The priest or prophet, meant to  
 address Alexander by the affectionate title of *father, child, son*; but  
 not being sufficiently acquainted with the Greek tongue, he said, *son*  
*son, son of Jupiter*. On his wretched blunder were founded Alexander's  
 pretensions to divinity Plut. *ibid* & Zonar. Annal. i. p. 134. The  
 fictions of Curtius are inconsistent with Arrian, and with Strabo, l. xvii.  
 p. 1768.

† Arrian observes, that the Romans seem to have imitated the jealousy  
 of Alexander respecting Egypt. Sensible of the temptations of the  
 governors of that province to revolt, they appointed, not senators, but  
 men of the Equestrian Order, to be proconsuls of Egypt. Arrian p. 55.

‡ In this Arrian and Curtius agree. The letters between  
 Alexander and Darius are differently expressed by these writers.

resources in his eastern provinces, Solirvan, Gilan, CHAP. XXXVHL  
 Khoross, and the wide extent of territory between the Caspian and the Jaxartes. Not only the subjects of the empire, but the independent tribes in those remote regions, which in ancient and modern times have ever been the abode of courage and barbarity, rejoiced in an opportunity to signalise their restless valour. At the first summons, they poured down into the fertile plains of Assyria, and increased the army of Darius far beyond any proportion of force which he had hitherto collected.

Meanwhile Alexander, having received considerable reinforcements from Greece, Macedon, and Thrace, pursued his journey eastward from Phœnicia, passed the Euphrates at Thapsacus\*, boldly stemmed the rapid stream of the Tigris, and hastened to meet the enemy in Assyria. Darius had pitched his tents on the level banks of the Bumadus, near the obscure village of Gaugamela; but the famous battle, which finally decided the empire of the East, derived its name from Arbela, a town in the same province, sixty miles distant from the former, better known, and of easier pronunciation†.

Alexander marches into Assyria Olymp. cxii. 2. A. C. 331.

In both their accounts, which are totally inconsistent with each other, there are internal marks of falsehood.

\* Darius had entrusted the defence of the pass to Mazæus, with a body of cavalry, of which two thousand were Greeks. But on the first intelligence of Alexander's approach, Mazæus abandoned his post, and drew off his forces. Arrian. p. 56.

† This reason, which is given by Arrian, could scarcely have appeared valid to any but a Greek. Vid. Arrian, p. 181.

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Approach-  
es the  
enemy.

Their  
numbers.

The fourth day after passing the Tigris, Alexander was informed by his scouts, that they had seen some bodies of the enemy's horse, but could not ascertain their numbers. Upon this intelligence he marched forward in order of battle; but had not proceeded far, when he was met by other scouts, who having penetrated deeper into the country, or examined with greater accuracy, acquainted him that the hostile cavalry scarcely exceeded a thousand. This news made him alter his measures. The heavy-armed troops were commanded to slacken their pace. At the head of the royal cohort, the Pæonians, and auxiliaries, Alexander advanced with such celerity, that several of the Barbarians fell into his hands. These prisoners gave him very alarming accounts of the force of Darius, who was encamped within a few hours march. Some made it amount to a million of foot, forty thousand horse, two hundred armed chariots, and fifteen elephants from the eastern banks of the Indus\*. Others exaggerated (if indeed it was an exaggeration) with more method and probability, reducing the infantry to six hundred thousand, and raising the cavalry to an hundred and forty-five thousand†. But all agreed, that the present army was greatly more numerous, and composed of more warlike nations, than that which had fought at Issus‡.

\* Arrian, p. 57.

† Curtius, l. iv. c. xii. xiii. edit. Genev. The numbers are different in the other editions.

‡ Arrian & Curtius, loc. citat. Justin, l. xi. c. xii. Diodorus, l. xvi. c. xxxix. & liii. Orosius, l. iii. c. xvii. Plut. in Alexand.

Alexander received this information without testifying surprise. Having commanded an halt, he encamped four days to give his men rest and refreshment. His camp being fortified by a good intrenchment, he left in it the sick and infirm, together with all the baggage; and, on the evening of the fourth day, prepared to march against the enemy, with the effective part of his army, which was said to consist of forty thousand infantry, and seven thousand horse, unincumbered with any thing but their provisions and armour. The march was undertaken at the second watch of the night, that the Macedonians, by joining battle in the morning, might enjoy the important advantage of having an entire day before them, to reap the full fruits of their expected victory. About half way between the hostile camps, some eminences mutually intercepted the view of either army. Having ascended the rising ground, Alexander first beheld the Barbarians, drawn up in battle array, and perhaps more skilfully marshalled than he had reason to apprehend. Their appearance, at least, immediately determined him to change his first resolution. He again commanded a halt, summoned a council of war, and different measures being proposed, acceded to the single opinion of Parmenio, who advised that the foot should remain stationary, until a detachment of horse had explored the field of battle\*, and

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XXXVIII.  
Examines  
the field of  
battle.

\* Τὴν ὅλην σκηνὴν ἵεν το ὅλον σῶμα μέλλει. "The whole scene of the future action." Arrian, p. 8.

CHAP. carefully examined the disposition of the enemy.  
 XXXVII. Alexander, whose conduct was equalled by his  
 courage, and both surpassed by his activity, per-  
 formed those important duties in person, at the  
 head of his light horse, and royal cohort, having  
 returned with unexampled celerity, he again as-  
 sembled his captains, and encouraged them by a  
 short speech. Their ardour corresponded with his  
 own; and the soldiers, confident of victory, were  
 commanded to take rest and refreshment.

Disposi-  
 tion of the  
 enemy;

Meanwhile, Darius perceiving the enemy ap-  
 proach, kept his men prepared for action. Not  
 withstanding the great length of the plain, he was  
 obliged to contract his front, and form in two lines,  
 each of which was extremely deep. According to  
 the Persian custom, the King occupied the centre  
 of the first line, surrounded by the princes of the  
 blood, and the great officers of his court; and de-  
 fended by his horse and foot guards, amounting to  
 fifteen thousand chosen men. These splendid  
 troops, which seemed fitter for parade than battle,  
 were flanked on either side, by the Greek mer-

“*ἡ δὲ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡ βασιλίσσα καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τοῦ βασιλείου*.” “He commanded  
 his army to sup and rest.” Arrian, p. 58. This does not well agree with  
 what is said, p. 57. *οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔσθιν οὐδὲν ὄψον*. “That the soldiers  
 carried nothing but their armour.” I have therefore supplied the  
 word, “*provident*.” Both Arrian (loc. citat.) and Dureau (l. vi. c.  
 xiii.) say, that Parmenio exhorted Alexander to attack the enemy  
 in the night; to which the King answered, that he disdained  
 “*οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔσθιν οὐδὲν ὄψον*” an answer worthy of his magnanimity  
 and his prudence; since the day and the night were more favour-  
 able to the full exertion and display of his superior skill and  
 courage.

companies, and other warlike battalions, carefully selected from the whole army. The right wing consisted of the Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanians, and Saces; the left was chiefly occupied by the Bactrians, Persians, and Cardusians. The various nations composing this immense host, were differently armed; with swords, spears, clubs, and hatchets; while the horse and foot of each division were blended with such irregularity as seemed the result of accident rather than of design. The armed chariots fronted the first line, whose centre was farther defended by the elephants. Chosen squadrons of Scythian, Bactrian, and Cappadocian cavalry advanced before either wing, prepared to bring on the action, or, after it began, to attack the enemy in flank and rear.

The unexpected approach of Alexander within sight of his tents, prevented Darius from fortifying the wide extent of his camp; and, as he dreaded a nocturnal assault, from enemies who often veiled their designs in darkness, he commanded his men to remain all night under arms. This unusual measure, the gloomy silence, the long and anxious expectation, together with the fatigue of a restless night, discouraged the whole army, but inspired double terror into those who had witnessed the miserable disasters on the banks of the Granicus and the Issus.

At day-break, Alexander disposed his troops in a manner suggested by the superior numbers and deep order of the enemy. His main body con-

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who re-  
main all  
night un-  
der arms.

Alex-  
ander's  
order of  
battle



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sisted in two heavy armed phalanxes, each amounting to above sixteen thousand men. Of these, the greater part formed into one line; behind which he placed the remainder of phalangites reinforced by targeteers; with orders, that when the out-springing wings of the enemy prepared to attack the flanks and rear of his first line, the second should immediately wheel to receive them\*. The cavalry and light infantry were so disposed on the wings, that while one part resisted the shock of the Persians in front, another, by only facing to the right or left, might take them in flank. Skilful archers and darters were posted at proper intervals, as affording the best defence against the armed chariots, which (as Alexander well knew) must immediately become useless, whenever their conductors or horses were wounded.

and mode  
of attack.

Having thus arranged the several parts, Alexander with equal judgment led the whole in an oblique direction towards the enemy's left; a manœuvre which enabled the Macedonians to avoid contending at once with superior numbers. When his advanced battalions, notwithstanding their nearness to the enemy, still stretched towards the right, Darius also extended his left, till fearing that by continuing this movement his men should be drawn gradually off the plain, he commanded the Scythian squadrons to advance, and prevent the

\* Επειτα δὲ καὶ δυνάμειν παρὰ εἰς ἑκατὶ τῶν φάλαγγας ἀνέστησαν. Arrian, p. 60. The φάλαγγ ἀνίστασθαι is defined by *Elia*, as described in the text.

further extension of the hostile line. Alexander immediately detached a body of horse to oppose them. An equestrian combat ensued, in which both parties were reinforced, and the Barbarians finally repelled. The armed chariots then issued forth with impetuous violence; but their appearance, only, was formidable; for the precautions taken by Alexander, rendered their assault harmless. Darius next moved his main body, but with so little order, that the horse, mixed with the infantry, advanced, and left a vacuity in the line, which his generals wanted time or vigilance to supply. Alexander seized the decisive moment, and penetrated into the void with a wedge of squadrons. He was followed by the nearest sections of the phalanx, who rushed forward with loud shouts, as if they had already pursued the enemy. In this part of the field, the victory was not long doubtful: after a feeble resistance, the Barbarians gave way: the pusillanimous Darius was foremost in the flight\*.

C H A P.  
XXXVIII.  
Battle of  
Gaugamela.  
Olymp.  
cxii. 2.  
A. C. 331.  
October.

The battle, however, was not yet decided. The more remote divisions of the phalanx, upon receiving intelligence that the left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was in danger, had not immediately followed Alexander. A vacant space was thus left in the Macedonian line, through which some squadrons of Persian and Indian horse penetrated with celerity, and advanced to the hostile camp†.

\* Βόρην αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἀσχηρῶς. "He fled shamefully among the foremost." Arrian, p. 69.

† The words of Arrian are, ἀλλ' ἐπιστάντες τῇ φαλαγγί (viz. the sections on the left), ἠγασθότο ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ ποταμοῦ.

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It was then that Alexander derived signal and well-earned advantages from his judicious order of battle. The heavy-armed troops and targeteers, which he had skilfully posted behind the phalanx, speedily faced about, advanced with a rapid step, and attacked the Barbarian cavalry, already entangled among the baggage. The enemy, thus surprised, were destroyed or put to flight. Meanwhile, the danger of his left wing recalled Alexander from the pursuit of Darius. In advancing against the enemy's right, he was met by the Parthian, Indian, and Persian horse, who

σχηματο. Και πανη παρασκευη αυτης της ταξης, κατα το δειχον, διακταται τον τε Ιωανν την, και της Περσικης ιππης, ως επι τα σκεπηματα των Μανδρων, &c. The learned Guischart's commentary is ingenious, but scarcely warranted by the text. "Les sections de la droite de la phalange ayant donné en même temps que les Peltastes, les autres sections, qui étoient par l'oblique plus ou moins en arrière, tâchèrent aussi de marcher en avant, & de charger l'ennemi. Mais les troupes de la droite des Perses, voyant le fort de combat au centre, se pressèrent toutes vers cet endroit de la ligne, en se poussant mutuellement, & la foule embarrassa tellement les soldats de la phalange, qu'il leur fut alors impossible de s'avancer. Sur ces entrefaites, Alexandre, pour se faire jour, se jeta sur les derrières de ces ennemis. En même temps la nouvelle de la fuite de Darius, & de la deroute de toute sa gauche s'étant repandue, la consternation devint générale. L'effet en fut singulier; les Perses se voyant coupés, dans leur retraite, par les escadrons d'Alexandre, qu'ils avoient à dos, cherchèrent à se sauver, même à travers la phalange. Ils se jetterent à corps perdu sur elle. Quoique de vingt quatre de hauteur, elle ne put resister au poids de cette masse. Sa gauche étant alors plus chargée que sa droite, les sections de celle-ci poussèrent en avant, & n'observèrent pas que, depuis la troisième section, la gauche restoit en arrière. Il en résulta que la phalange se separa, que sa droite s'avansa à la poursuite de l'ennemi, & que des corps nombreux de cavalerie & d'infanterie, qui avoient été au centre Persan, entrèrent tout à coup par la crevasse, & poussèrent jusques derrière la ligne des Macédoniens." See Mémoires Militaires, c. xv. p. 221.

maintained a sharp conflict. Sixty of the *Companions* fell; Hephæstion, Cœnus, and Menidas, were wounded. Having at length dissipated this cloud of cavalry, Alexander prepared to attack the foot in that wing. But the business was already effected, chiefly by the Thessalian horse; and nothing remained to be done, but to pursue the fugitives, and to render the victory as decisive as possible.\*

According to the least extravagant accounts, with the loss of five hundred men, he destroyed forty thousand of the Barbarians,† who never

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Consequences of  
the victory.

\* Soldiers, better acquainted with the practice than with the theory of their art, have often testified a just surprise, that the battles of the ancients should be described with an order, perspicuity, and circumstantial minuteness, which are not to be found in the military writers of modern times. Scholars have endeavoured to explain this difference, by observing the immense disproportion, in point of dignity and abilities, between the military historians of modern Europe, and those of Greece and Rome. But the difficulty will be better solved, by reflecting on the changes introduced into the art of war by the change of arms; which, in military operations, form the pivot on which the whole turns.—1. From the nature of fire-arms, modern battles are involved in smoke and confusion.—2. From the same cause modern armies occupy a much greater extent of ground, and begin to act at much greater distances; which renders it more difficult to observe and ascertain their manœuvres.—3. The immense train of artillery, ammunition, &c. required in the practice of modern war, gives a certain immobility to our armies, which renders it impossible, so perform, without great danger, those rapid evolutions in sight of an enemy, which so often decided the battles of the ancients. With us, almost every thing depends on the judicious choice of ground, a matter requiring great military genius, but not admitting the embellishments of historical description.

† In the battles of the Greeks and Romans, the extraordinary disproportion between the numbers slain on the side of the

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thenceforth assembled in sufficient number to dispute his dominion in the East. The invaluable provinces of Babylonia, Susiana, and Persia, with their respective capitals of Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis\*, formed the prize of his skill and valour. Alexander had not yet attained the summit of his fortune, but he had already reached the height of his renown†. The burning of the royal palace of Persepolis‡, to retaliate the ravages

victors and of the vanquished, necessarily resulted from the nature of their arms. Their principal weapons being not missile, but manual, armies could not begin to act till they had approached so nearly to each other, that the conquered found themselves cut off from all possibility of retreat. In modern times the use of fire-arms (which often renders the action itself more bloody) furnishes the defeated party with various facilities for escape. The sphere of military action is so widely extended, that, before the victors can run over the space which separates them from the vanquished, the latter may fall back, and proceed with little loss beyond their reach; and should any village, hedge, river, &c. be found in their way, may often check the ardour of the pursuers. Upon these considerations, the invention of gunpowder may be said to have saved the effusion of human blood. Equestrian engagements (since the principles on which cavalry act remain nearly the same in every age) are still distinguished by similar circumstances to those which appear so extraordinary in the battles of antiquity.

\* The gold and silver found in those cities amounted to thirty millions sterling; the jewels and other precious spoil, belonging to Darius, sufficed, according to Plutarch, to load twenty thousand mules, and five thousand camels. Plut. in Alexand.

† After the battle of Arbela, many of Alexander's actions, as will appear in the text, deserve the highest praise; but, before that period, few of them can be justly blamed.

‡ Arrian, i. iii p. 66 Plut. in Alexand. & Strabo, i. xv. p. 582 agree with Arrian in confining the conflagration to the

of Xerxes in Greece, afforded the first indication of his being overcome by too much prosperity. To speak the most favourably of this transaction, an undistinguishing resentment made him forget that he destroyed his own palace, not that of his adversary.

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The settlement of his important and extensive conquests, and the reduction of the warlike Uxii, those independent mountaineers, who, inhabiting the western frontier of Persia, had ever defied the Persian power, restrained Alexander from urging the pursuit of Darius. After his defeat, that unfortunate prince escaped by a precipitate and obscure\* flight across the Armenian mountains into

Measures  
of Darius

palace. Plutarch tells us, that only a part of that edifice was consumed. Diodorus says inaccurately, *ἐν γὰρ τῷ βασιλικῷ τότῳ* "the place around the palace;" and Curtius, l. v. c. vii with his usual extravagance, burns the whole city of Persepolis so completely, that not a vestige of it remained: The learned author of the *Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*, is at pains to prove that Persepolis existed under the successors of Alexander, and continued to exist till the first ages of Mahometanism, when the inhabitants of Persepolis, having violated their treaty with the Mussulmen, were butchered without mercy, and their city totally demolished. See *Examen Critique*, p. 135, & seqq. Mr. D'Hankerville, however, alleges reasons for believing that there were two cities called Persepolis by the Greeks, situate at a considerable distance from each other, one of which was burnt by Alexander, and the other destroyed by the Mussulmen. See his supplement to his *Recherches sur les Arts, &c. de la Grèce*.

\* Arrian observes, that Darius shewed great judgment in his flight, having left the populous and well-frequented roads leading to Susa and Babylon, towards which he justly suspected that Alexander would march his army, and directing his course over the Armenian mountains into Media. Arrian, p. 63. Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 538. agrees with Arrian. The errors of Curtius, l. v. c. i. are too absurd to merit refutation.

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XXXVII.

**Media.** Being gradually joined by the scattered remnant of his army, amounting to several thousand Barbarians, and fifteen hundred Greek mercenaries, he purposed to have established his court in Media, should Alexander remain at Susa or Babylon; but in case he were still pursued by the conqueror, his resolution was to proceed eastward, through Parthia and Hyrcania, into the valuable province of Bactria, laying waste the intermediate country, that he might thus interpose a desert between himself and the Macedonians. In this design, he dispatched to the Caspian Gates the waggon conveying his women, and such instruments of convenience or luxury as still softened his misfortunes; and remained in person at Ecbatana with his army. Alexander, when apprised of these measures, hastened into Media. In his way he subdued the Paraetaceni; and having reached within three days march of the Median capital, was met by Bisthanes, the son of Ochus, Darius' predecessor. This Prince informed him, that Darius had fled from thence five days before, attended by three thousand horsemen, and six thousand foot.

\* The foundation of this hope was, that a revolt might break out in the Macedonian army; since the more and the richer provinces Alexander acquired, his lieutenants would have the greater temptation to aspire at independence. Subsequent events will justify the reasonable expectation of Darius, which was on this occasion disappointed.

† Arrian, p. 66. speaks as if Ochus had been Darius' immediate predecessor, neglecting the short reign of Arses, the son of Ochus who was poisoned, soon after his father by the eunuch Bagoas. Diodor. xiii. 6. *Ælian. Var. Hist. vi. 8.*

Animated by this intelligence, Alexander proceeded to Ecbatana, in which place he left his treasures, and posted a strong garrison. In this city he likewise dismissed the Thessalian cavalry, and several auxiliary squadrons; paying them, besides their arrears, a gratuity of two thousand talents. Such as preferred the glory of accompanying his standard to the joy of revisiting their respective countries, were allowed again to enlist; a permission which many embraced. A strong detachment under Parmenio was sent into Hyrcania; Cæsus, who had been left sick at Susa, was commanded to march with all convenient speed into Parthia; while the King with a well appointed army, advanced with incredible expedition\* in pursuit of Darius. Having passed the Caspian Straits, he was met by Bagietanes, a Babylonian of distinction, who acquainted him that Bessus, governor of Bactria, in conjunction with Narbasanes, an officer in Darius' cavalry, and Barzaentes, satrap of the barbarous Drangæ and Arachoti, had thrown aside all respect for a prince, who was no longer an object of fear. Upon this intelligence, Alexander declared expedition to be more necessary than ever. Having, therefore, left the heavy-armed troops and baggage under the command of Craterus, he hastened forward with a few select bands, carrying only their arms, and two days provisions.

G. H. A. P.  
XXXVIII.

Alexander  
pursues  
Darius.

\* His marches were thirty-eight and forty miles a day, sometimes mutual Xenophon's expedition of Cyrus, and Arrian's expedition of Alexander, mutually illustrate and confirm each other.



**G H A P.** In that space of time, he reached the camp from  
 XXXVII which Bagistenus had deserted, and finding some  
 parties of the enemy there, learned that Darius, being seized and bound, was actually carried prisoner in his chariot; that Bessus, in whose province this treason had been committed, had assumed imperial honours; that all the barbarians (Artabazus only and his sons excepted) already acknowledged the usurper; that the Greek mercenaries preserved their fidelity inviolate; and, being unable to render the flagitious scenes that were transacting, had quitted the public road, and retired to the mountains, disdaining not only to participate in the designs, but even to share the same camp with the traitors. Alexander farther learned, that should he pursue Bessus and his associates, it was their intention to make peace with him by delivering up Darius; but should he cease from the pursuit, that they had determined to collect forces, and to divide the eastern provinces of the empire.

who is  
 treache-  
 rously  
 slain—  
 Olymp.  
 exlii 3.  
 A. C. 330.

Having received this information, Alexander marched all night, and next day till noon, with the utmost speed, but without overtaking the enemy. He therefore dismounted five hundred of his cavalry, placed the bravest of his foot, completely armed, on horseback; and commanding Attalus and Nicanor to pursue the great road which Bessus had followed, advanced in person with his chosen band by a nearer way, which was almost desert, and entirely destitute of water. The natives of the country were his guide. From the close of the

overning till day-break, he had rode nearly fifty miles, when he first discovered the enemy flying in disorder, and unarmed. Probably to facilitate their own escape, Nabarzanes and Barzantes stabbed Darius, and then rode away with Bessus, accompanied by six hundred horse. Notwithstanding the celerity of Alexander, the unhappy Darius expired before the conqueror beheld him\*. Darius was the last king of the house of Hystaspes, and the tenth in succession to the monarchy of Cyrus. That he was neither brave nor prudent, his conduct sufficiently evinces; but the uninterrupted chain of his calamities would have prevented him (had he been otherwise inclined) from imitating the injustice and cruelty of too many of his predecessors†.

In this important stage of his fortune, Alexander displayed tender sympathy with affliction, warm esteem of fidelity, and just hatred of treason. He

Alexander pursues the murderers of Darius.

\* Such is the simple narration of Arrian. The fictions related by Plutarch in *Alexand. & Curtius*, l. v. c. xii. & Justin, l. xi. c. xv are inconsistent with each other, and all of them betray the desire to contrast the exaltation and depression of the fortune of Darius. "He was chained," says Curtius, "with golden fetters; but laid in a dirty cart, covered with raw hides." His harangue in praise of Alexander would be moral and affecting, were it not totally improbable.

† Arrian makes this judicious observation, which proves the facility of the Oriental traditions, representing Darius as a monster of tyranny and cruelty. See D'Herbelot. *Bibl. Orientale*, art. *Darab*, p. 285. Should the fashionable scepticism of the times hesitate between these authorities, the reader has only to ask, what Oriental historian has related the transactions of Darius with the fulness and accuracy so conspicuous in Arrian?

**CHAP.** gave orders, that the body of Darius should be  
**XXXVIII.** transported to Persia, and interred in the royal  
 mausoleum. The children of the deceased prince  
 were uniformly treated with those distinctions which  
 belonged to their birth; and Statira\*, his eldest  
 daughter, was finally espoused by Alexander. The  
 pardon of the Greek mercenaries, who were ad-  
 mitted into the Macedonian service, and the ho-  
 nourable reception of Artabazus and his sons, well  
 became the character of a prince who could dis-  
 cern and reward the merit of his enemies. Alexan-  
 der then pursued the murderers of Darius through  
 the inhospitable territories of the Arii and Zaran-  
 gæi, and in two days accomplished a journey of six  
 hundred furlongs. Having received the submis-  
 sion of Aornost and Bactra, he passed the deep  
 and rapid Oxus, and learned, on the eastern banks  
 of this river, that Bessus, who had betrayed his  
 master, had been betrayed in his turn by Spita-  
 menes. The former was surprised by the Mace-  
 donians, and treated with a barbarity† better  
 merited by his own crimes, than becoming the  
 character of Alexander.

The Bac-  
 trian and  
 Scythian  
 war.

Spitamenes succeeded to his ambition and dan-  
 ger in pursuit of this daring rebel, the resent-  
 ment of Alexander hurried him through the vast

\* Diodor. xviii. 107. Arrian, vii. 4. Plutarch in Alexand.

† We shall meet with another place of this name, between the  
 Samus and the Indus.

\* He was stripped, naked, whipped, shamefully mutilated; &c.  
 Arrian arraigns those cruelties, as unworthy of the Grecian character:  
 but he warmly approves the punishing of Bessus, and the other mur-  
 derers of Darius.

but undescribed\* provinces of Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, and other less considerable divisions of the southern region of Tartary. The more northern and independent tribes of that immense country, whose pastoral life formed an admirable preparation for war, ventured to take arms against a conqueror who hovered on the frontier of their plains, and whose camp tempted them with the prospect of a rich plunder. The policy of Spitamenes inflamed their courage, and animated their hopes. These rude nations, and this obscure leader, proved the most dangerous enemies with whom Alexander ever had to contend. Sometimes they faced him in the field, and after obstinately resisting, retreated skilfully. Though never vanquished, Alexander obtained many dear-bought victories. The Scythians on several occasions surprised his advanced parties and interrupted his convoys. The abruptness of their attack was only equalled by the celerity of their retreat; their numbers, their courage, and their stratagems, all rendered them formidable†. But the enlightened intrepidity, and in-

G H A. F.  
XXXVIII  
Olymp  
cxii. 4.  
cxiii. 1.  
A. C. 328.

\* The erroneous geography of the ancients is laboriously compared with subsequent discoveries in the learned work intitled *Essays des Anciens Historiens d'Alexandre*; and may be seen at one glance, by comparing the maps, usually prefixed to Quintus Curtius, with those of D'Anville.

† In one action, Arrian tells us, that only forty Macedonian horsemen, and three hundred foot, escaped. Arrian, l. iv. Curtius mentions another, after which it was made death to divulge the number of the slain. Curtius, l. vii. c. 7. Alexander was not present in either of these engagements; but in a third battle, related by Arrian, the Macedonians were at first repelled, many of them wounded, and the King hit with an arrow, which broke the sinews of lesser bone of his leg. The Macedonians, however, rallied, and totally defeated the enemy. Arrian, l. v. sub fin.

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XXXVIII

inimitable discipline of the Greeks and Macedonians, finally prevailed over Barbarian craft, and desultory fury. Not contented with repelling his enemies, Alexander crossed the Jaxartes, and defeated the Scythians\* on the northern bank of that river. This victory was sufficient for his renown, and the urgency of his affairs soon recalled him, from an inhospitable desert.

Alexander  
finally re-  
duces the  
provinces  
between  
the Cas-  
pian

The provinces between the Caspian and the Jaxartes twice rebelled, and twice were reduced to submission. The Barbarians fighting singly were successively subdued; their bravest troops were

\* Before Alexander passed the Jaxartes, he received an embassy probably from the *Albian* Scythians. Their oration, omitted by all the Greek writers, is preserved in Curtius, l. vii c. 8. It is remarkable for the bold elevated style, in which these Barbarians display their own advantages and describe the destructive ambition of the invader. In both respects, it agrees with the admirable harangue of the Caledonian chieftain Galgacus, in Tacitus' Life of Agricola. But the glowing sentiments of those independent and high-minded nations are intensified by the brevity of Tacitus, and weakened by the diffusiveness of Curtius. Both orations abound in metaphors. "Great trees," say the Scythians to Alexander, "require long time to grow: the labour of a few hours levels them with the ground. Take care, least, in climbing, to the top, you should fall with the branches which you have seized. Grasp Fortune with both your hands; she is slippery, and cannot be satisfied. Our countrymen describe her without feet, with hands only, and wings. Those to whom she stretches out her hand, she allows not to touch her wings. Rein your prosperity, that you may the more easily manage it. Our poverty will be swifter than your army loaded with spoils. We range the plain and the forest; we disdain to serve, and desire not to command." The figurative style of the Scythians is sufficiently consonant to the manners of barbarous nations. See Principii Sci. Schol. l. viii, vol. i. p. 166, & seqq. See likewise Chapters fifth and sixth of the present History. Le Clerc, therefore, speaks inconsiderately when, in ascribing the fidelity of Curtius, he says, "*Scythici ipsi, omnium literarum rudis, rhetorico calamiestro inusti, in medium produunt.*" See Judic. Curt. p. 826.

gradually intermixed in the Macedonian ranks; and Alexander, thus continually reinforced by new numbers, was enabled to overawe those extensive countries, by dividing his army into five formidable brigades commanded by Hephæstion, Ptolemy, Pérdiccas, Cœnus\*, and himself. Near Gabæ, a fortress of Sogdiana, Cœnus attacked and defeated Spitamenes. The Sogdians and Bactrians deserted their unfortunate general and surrendered their arms to the conqueror. The Masagætæ and other Scythians, having plundered the camp of their allies, fled with Spitamenes to the desert; but being apprised, that the Macedonians prepared to pursue them, they slew this active and daring chief, whose courage deserved a better fate; and, in hopes of making their own peace, sent his head to the conqueror.

CHAP. XXXVIII.  
and the  
Jaxartes:  
Olymp.  
cxiii. 2.  
A. C. 327.

After the death of Spitamenes, the enemy feebly resisted Alexander in the open country, but in the provinces of Sogdiana and Parætacéné, two important fortresses, long deemed impregnable, still bade defiance to the invader. Into the former, Oxyartes the Bactrian, who headed the rebellion (for so the Macedonians termed the brave defence of the Bactrians), had placed his wife and children. The rock was steep, rugged, almost inaccessible and provided with corn for a long siege. The deep snow, by which it was surrounded, increased the difficulty of assaulting it, and supplied the garrison

Siege of  
the Sog-  
dian for-  
tress;  
Olymp.  
cxiii. 2.  
A. C. 327.

\* Artabazus, the faithful attendant of Darius, and afterwards the friend of Alexander, was joined in the command with Cœnus, Arrian.

CHAP  
XXVIII

with water. Alexander, having summoned the Bagrians to surrender, was asked in derision, Whether he had furnished himself with winged soldiers? This insolence piqued his pride; and he determined to make himself master of the place, with whatever difficulties and dangers his undertaking might be attended. This resolution was consonant to his character. His success in arms, owing to the resources of his active and comprehensive mind, sometimes encouraged him to enterprises, neither justified by necessity, nor warranted by prudence. Fond of war, not only as an instrument of ambition, but as an art in which he gloried to excel, he began to regard the means as more valuable than the end, and sacrificed the lives of his men to military experiments alike hazardous and useless: yet, on the present occasion, sound policy seems to have directed his measures. Having determined soon to depart from those provinces, he might judge it imprudent to leave an enemy behind; it might seem necessary to destroy the seeds of future rebellion; and, by exploits unexampled and almost incredible, to impress such terror of his name as would astonish and overawe his most distant and warlike dependencies.

which is  
taken by a  
contrivance  
equally

Alexander carefully examined the Bogdian fortress, and proposed a reward of twelve talents\* to the man who should first mount the top of the rock

\* Above 2000*l.* equal in value to near 20,000*l.* in the present age.

on which it was situated. The second and third C H A P.  
 were to be proportionably rewarded, and even the XXXVIII.  
 last of ten was to be gratified with the sum of three ingenious  
and dar-  
ing.  
 hundred darics. The hopes of this recompence,  
 which, in the conception of the Greeks and Macedonians, was equally honourable and lucrative, stimulated the love of adventure, so conspicuous in both nations. Three hundred men, carefully selected from the whole army, were furnished with ropes made of the strongest flax, and with iron pins, used in pitching tents. They were likewise provided with small pieces of linen, which, being joined together, might serve as a signal. Thus equipped, they proceeded at the close of evening towards the most abrupt side of the rock, and therefore the most likely to be unguarded. By driving the iron pins into congealed snow, and then fastening to them the ropes, they gradually hoisted themselves up the mountain. In this extraordinary enterprise, thirty men perished, whose bodies were so profoundly buried in the snow, that, notwithstanding the most diligent search, they could never afterwards be recovered. By this simple contrivance, those daring adventurers gained the summit of the rock, which overlooked the fortress; and waving their signal in the morning, were discovered by Alexander. At this joyous sight, he summoned the besieged to surrender to his winged soldiers. The Barbarians beheld and trembled; terror multiplied the number of their enemies, and represented them as completely armed;



**CHAP. XXXVIII.** Alexander was invited to take possession of the fortress\*.

Alexander's generous treatment of Roxana.

This obscure and even-nameless castle contained Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, and deemed, next to the spouse of Darius, the greatest beauty in the East. Alexander admired her form and her accomplishments; but even in the fervour of youth, and the intoxication of prosperity, his generous mind disdained the cruel rights of a conqueror, as justified by the maxims and example of his age and country. With a moderation and self-command, worthy the scholar of Aristotle, he declined the embraces of his captive, till his condescending affection raised her to the throne, choosing rather to offend the prejudices of the Macedonians, than to transgress the laws of humanity†.

The fortress of Chorienes surrenders. Olymp. cxliii. 2. A. C. 327.

In Bactria, Alexander learned that the Parætaceni were in arms, and that many of his most dangerous enemies had shut themselves up in the fortress or rock of Chorienes. Upon this intelligence he hastened to the Parætacene hills. The height of the rock, which was every where steep and craggy, he found to be nearly three miles, and its circumference above seven. It was surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, at such distance from the base as placed the garrison beyond the reach of missile weapons. Alexander gave orders that the fir trees, of extraordinary height, which surrounded the mountain, should be cut down, and formed into ladders, by means of which, his men de-

\* Arrian, p. 91, & seqq.

† Id. *ibid.*

ascending the ditch, drove huge piles into the bottom. These, being placed at proper distances, were covered with hurdles of osier consolidated with earth. In this occupation his whole army were employed by turns, night and day. The Barbarians at first derided this seemingly useless labour. But their insults were soon answered by Macedonian arrows. By these, and other missile weapons, the Macedonians, who were carefully protected by their coverings, so much annoyed the besieged, that the latter became desirous to capitulate. For this purpose, Chorienes, from whom the place derived its name, desired to converse with Oxyartes the Bactrian, who, since the taking of his wife and children, had submitted to Alexander. His request being granted, Oxyartes strongly exhorted him to surrender his fortress and himself, assuring him of Alexander's goodness, of which his own treatment furnished an eminent example, and declaring that no place was impregnable to such troops and such a general. Chorienes prudently followed this advice; and, by his speedy submission, not only obtained pardon, but gained the friendship of Alexander, who again entrusted him with the command of his fortress, and the government of his province. The vast magazines of corn, meat, and wine, collected by the Parætaceni for a long siege, afforded a seasonable supply to the Macedonian army, especially during the severity of winter, in a country covered with snow many feet deep\*.

\* Arrian, p. 62.

**C H A P** By such memorable achievements, Alexander  
**XXXVIII.** subdued the nations between the Caspian sea, the  
 river Jaxartes, and the lofty chain of mountains,  
 which supply the sources of the Indus and the  
 Ganges. In the conduct of this remote and dan-  
 gerous warfare, the great abilities of the general  
 were conspicuously distinguished. His example  
 taught the troops to despise hunger, fatigue, cold,  
 and danger: neither rugged mountains, nor deep  
 and rapid rivers, nor wounds, nor sickness, could in-  
 terrupt his progress, or abate his activity: his cou-  
 rage exposed him to difficulties, from which he was  
 extricated by new efforts of courage, which, in  
 any other commander, would have passed for te-  
 merity. Amidst the hardships of a military life,  
 obstinate sieges, bloody battles, and dear-bought  
 victories, he still respected the rights of mankind,  
 and practised the mild virtues of humanity. The  
 conquered nations enjoyed their ancient laws and  
 privileges; the rigours of despotism were softened;  
 arts and industry encouraged; and the proudest  
 Macedonian governors compelled, by the autho-  
 rity and example of Alexander, to observe the  
 rules of justice towards their meanest subjects.  
 To bridle the fierce inhabitants of the Scythian  
 plains, he founded cities, and established colonies  
 on the banks of the Jaxartes and the Oxus; and  
 those destructive campaigns, usually ascribed to his  
 restless activity and blind ambition, appeared to the  
 discernment of this extraordinary man, not only

The vir-  
 tues dis-  
 played by  
 Alexander  
 in making  
 and regu-  
 lating his  
 conquests.

\* Plutarch, Arrian, & Curtius, *passim*.

essential to the security of the conquests which he had already made, but necessary preparations for more remote and splendid expeditions which he still purposed to undertake; and which, as will appear in the succeeding chapter, he performed with singular boldness and unexampled success.

During the three first years that the invincible heroism of Alexander triumphed in the East, the firm vigilance of Antipater repressed rebellion in Greece. But the attention of that general being diverted, by a revolt in Thrace, from the affairs of the southern provinces, the Lacedæmonians, incited by the warlike ambition of their king Agis, ventured to exert that hostility against Macedon which they had long felt and expressed. Reinforced by some communities of the Peloponnesus, which imprudently listened to their counsels, the allied army amounted to twenty-two thousand men. Antipater, having checked the insurrection in Thrace, hastened into the Grecian peninsula with a superior force, and defeated the confederates in a battle, which proved fatal to King Agis, and three thousand Peloponnesian troops. The vanquished were allowed to send ambassadors to implore the clemency of Alexander. From this generous prince, the rebellious republics received promise of pardon, on condition that they punished with due severity the authors of an unprovoked and ill judged revolt.\*

From this period, till the death of Alexander, Greece enjoyed, above eight years, an unusual de-

Commo-  
tions in  
Greece  
checked  
by Anti-  
pater.  
Olymp.  
cxii 3.  
A. C. 330.

Tranquil-  
lity of that  
country.

\* Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 537. Curtius, l. vi. c. l.

OF A P  
XXXVII

during the  
subse-  
quent  
years of  
Alexan-  
der's reign.

gros of tranquillity and happiness. The suspicious  
and severe temper of Antipater was restrained  
by the commands of his master, who provided  
the several republics with their appointed con-  
tingents of men to reinforce his armies, was un-  
willing to exact from them any farther mark of  
submission. Under the protection of this indul-  
gent sovereign, to the glory of whose conquests  
they were associated, the Greeks still preserved the  
forms, and displayed the image, of that free con-  
stitution of government, whose spirit had animated  
their ancestors.

Ctesiphon  
accused by  
Æschines,  
and de-  
fended by  
Demosthe-  
nes.  
Olymp.  
cxii. 3.  
A. C. 330.

While Alexander pursued the murderers of Ba-  
riss, Athens was crowded with spectators from the  
neighbouring republics, to behold a long prepared  
intellectual conflict between Æschines and Demosthe-  
nes, whose rivalry in power and fame had for  
many years divided the affections of their country-  
men. In consequence of a decree proposed by  
Ctesiphon, we have seen Demosthenes honoured  
with a golden crown, as the reward of his political  
merit. His adversary had, even before the death  
of Philip, denounced the author of this decree  
as a violator of the laws of his country. 1. Be-  
cause he had decreed public honours to a man  
actually entrusted with the public money, and who  
had not yet passed his accounts. 2. Because, con-  
trary to law, he had advised that the crown  
conferred on Demosthenes, should be proclaimed  
in the theatre. 3. Because the boasted services of  
Demosthenes had ended in public disgrace and  
ruin; and that, instead of being rewarded with a

even, brought to be punished as a traitor. Was  
 rious circumstances, which it is now impossible to  
 explain, retarded the hearing of this important  
 cause, till the sixth year of the reign of Alex-  
 ander. The triumph of the Macedonians seemed  
 to promise every advantage to Eschines, who had  
 long been the partisan of Philip, and of his magne-  
 sian son; and who, by a stroke aimed at Otes-  
 iption, meant chiefly to wound Demosthenes, the  
 avowed enemy of both.

In the oration of Eschines, we find the united  
 powers of reason and argument combined with  
 the most splendid eloquence. Yet the persuasive  
 vehemence of Demosthenes prevailed in the con-  
 test. The unexampled exertions, by which he  
 obtained this victory, will be admired to the latest  
 ages of the world. To what an exalted pitch of  
 enthusiasm must the orator have raised himself and  
 his audience, when, to justify his advising the fatal  
 battle of Chaeroneia, he exclaimed, "No, my  
 fellow-citizens, you have not erred; No; I swear  
 it by the manes of those heroes who fought in the  
 same cause at Marathon and Plataea." What sub-  
 lime art was required to arrive, by just degrees, at  
 this lofty or rather gigantic sentiment, which, in  
 any other light than the inimitable blaze of elo-  
 quence, with which it was surrounded, would ap-  
 pear altogether extravagant.

The orator not only justified Otesiphon and  
 himself, but procured the banishment of his adver-  
 sary. See the *Orat. de Corona*, throughout.

CHAP. V  
 HISTORY

Eschines  
 banished  
 for cal-  
 umny.

Generosity  
 of Demos-  
 thenes.

CHAP. LXXV. as the author of a malignant and calumnious accusation. Honourable as this triumph was, Demosthenes derived more solid glory from the generous treatment of his vanquished rival. Before *Archinos* set sail, he carried to him a purse of money, which he kindly compelled him to accept; a generosity which made the banished man feel severely the weight of his punishment, and affectingly observe, "How deeply must I regret the loss of a country, in which enemies are more generous than friends elsewhere!" *Archinos* retired to the isle of Rhodes, and instituted a school of eloquence, which flourished several centuries. It is recorded, that having read to his scholars the oration which occasioned his banishment, it was received with extraordinary applause. But when this applause was redoubled on his reading the answer of Demosthenes, he was so far from testifying envy, that he exclaimed to his audience, "What would have been your admiration, had you heard the orator himself?"

His death.  
Olymp.  
cxiv. 3  
A. C. 322.

Demosthenes survived Alexander, whose magnanimity disdained to punish an enemy whom he scarcely regarded as dangerous. But this illustrious Athenian patriot fell a prey to the more suspicious policy of Antipater. At the desire of that prince, he was banished Athens, and being pursued by Macedonian assassins to the little island of *Calauria*, he ended his life by poison\*.

The sentence of  
the Athe.

It may be thought, that the conqueror of the Persian empire would have little leisure, or incli-

\* Plut. in *Demosthen.* & Lucian. *Demosthen.* *Encom.*

nation, to attend to a personal altercation between two Athenian orators; and that neither the impeachment nor the defence of Demosthenes could affect his pride or his interest. It deserves to be considered, however, that this orator was the inveterate, and long the successful, opponent of the greatness of his family; and, in the beginning of his own reign, had attempted, with more courage, indeed, than prudence, to overturn the yet unconsolidated pillar of his fortune. But whatever indifference Alexander, who was carefully informed of the transactions of Greece, might testify amidst the honours of Demosthenes, it cannot be believed that he heard with total unconcern the sentence of the Athenian people; a sentence which reversed the decision of fortune, and avenged the cruel and melancholy triumph of Philip over the liberties of Greece. That he never resented the indignity, is a proof of his moderation; and that the Athenians could venture on a measure so offensive, is a proof of the freedom and security which they enjoyed under the Macedonian government.

CHAP. XXXVIII.  
nians in  
favour of  
Demos-  
thenes, ho-  
nourable  
to the mo-  
deration of  
Alex-  
ander.

Deprived indeed of the honour, but also delivered from the cares, of independent sovereignty, and undisturbed by those continual and often bloody dissensions, which deform the annals of their tumultuous liberty, the Greeks indulged their natural propensity to the social embellishments of life; a propensity by which they were honourably distinguished above all other nations of antiquity. Their innumerable shows, festivals, and dramatic entertainments, were exhibited with more pomp than at

State of  
Greece  
during the  
latter  
years of  
the reign  
of Alex-  
ander.



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any former period. The schools of philosophers and rhetoricians were frequented by all descriptions of men. Painting and statuary were cultivated with equal ardour and success. Many improvements were made in the sciences; and, as will appear more fully hereafter, the Greeks, and the Athenians in particular, still rivalled the taste and genius, though not the spirit and virtue, of their ancestors. Yet even in this degenerate state, when patriotism and true valour were extinct, and those vanquished republicans had neither liberties to love, nor country to defend, their martial honours were revived and brightened by an association with the renown of their conquerer. Under Alexander, their exploits, though directed to very different purposes, equalled, perhaps excelled, the boasted trophies of Marathon and Plataea. By a singularity peculiar to their fortune, the era of their political disgrace coincides with the most splendid period of their military glory. Alexander was himself a Greek; his kingdom had been founded by a Grecian colony; and, to revenge the wrongs of that nation, he undertook and accomplished the most extraordinary enterprises recorded in the history of the world.

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*Alexander's Indian Expedition.—Route pursued by the Army.—Aornos taken.—Nysa and Mount Meros.—Alexander passes the Indus and Hydaspes.—Defeats Porus.—Founds Nicæa and Bucephalia.—Passes the Acesines and Hydraotes.—Sangalataken.—Eastern Boundary of Alexander's Conquests.—He sails down the Hydaspes.—Takes the Mallian fortress.—His march through the Gedrosian Desert.—Voyage of Nearchus.—Alexander improves the internal State of his Conquests.—Incorporates the Barbarian Levies with the Greeks and Macedonians.—Intermarriages of the Europeans and Asiatics.—Artifices to prevent Alexander's Return to Babylon.—His Death, and Character.—Division of his Conquests.—Subsequent History of Egypt and Syria.—The Western Division of Alexander's Empire conquered by the Romans.—State of Greece after the Age of Alexander.*

**B**y just views of policy, rather than the madness of ambition, Alexander was carried to the rugged banks of the Oxus and the Iaxartes. The fierce nations of those inhospitable regions had in ancient times, repeatedly over-run the more wealthy and more civilized provinces of Asia. Without diffusing through the Scythian plains the terror of his name, the conqueror could not have securely enjoyed the splendour of Susa and Babylon; nor without the assistance of numerous and warlike

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Alexander undertakes his Indian expedition. Olymp. cxiii. 2.

A. C. 327.

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Traverses  
the Paro-  
pamisus

levies, raised in those barbarous countries, could he have prudently undertaken his Indian expedition. For this remote and dangerous enterprise, he prepared early in the spring; Amyntas being appointed governor of Bactria, and entrusted with a sufficient strength to overawe the surrounding provinces.

With all the remainder of his forces, Alexander hastened southwards, and in ten days march traversed the Paropamisus, a link of that immense chain of mountains, reaching from the coast of Cilicia to the sea of China. This southern belt, distinguished in different portions of its length by the various names of Taurus, Paropamisus, Imaus, and Edmodus, the Greeks confounded\* with the northern chain, of which Scythian Caucasus is a part, and whose remote branches extend from the shores of the Euxine, to the eastern extremity of Tartary. Such is the strong frame which supports the ponderous mass of Asia. The intermediate space, especially towards the central country of Bucharis, is far more elevated than any other portion of the ancient continent†; and the towering heights of Paromismus had hitherto defended (if we except the obscure expedition of Darius) the feeble majesty of India against the ravagers of the earth. The difficulties of this celebrated journey have,

\* The errors of Dioplorus, l. xvi. p. 553. and of Quintus, l. vii. c. 14 are avoided by Arrian, l. v. p. 103. and by Strabo, l. xv. p. 774. See also Arrian Indic. c. 2.

† That is, the Asia known to the Ancients, &c. by historical observations many parts of Chinese Tartary are 15,000 feet above the yellow sea; and the highlands there, are far more elevated than those of Bucharis. Conf. Pallas Act. Petropol. an. 1777 Scamton's China, Vol. ii. p. 206. Kirwan's Geological Essays, p. 66. &c.

perhaps, been rather exaggerated than described, by the historians of Alexander. Yet our indulgence may pardon the fanciful\* expressions of antiquity, when we read in the work of a modern writer of acknowledged veracity, "Those mountains are covered with ice; the cold which I suffered was extreme; the country presents a melancholy image of death and horror."

But the rugged nature of the country was not the only difficulty with which the Macedonians had to struggle. The northern regions of India were inhabited in ancient, as they are still in modern times, by men of superior strength and courage†, and the vigorous resistance made by the natives of those parts, rendered it as difficult for Alexander to penetrate into the Indian peninsula by land, as it has always been found easy by the maritime powers of Europe, to invade and subdue the unwarlike inhabitants of its coasts.

The experienced leader seems to have conducted his army by the route of Candahar, well known to the caravans of Agra and Ispahan. Having reached the banks of the Cophenes, he divided his forces; the greater part he retained under his immediate command; the remainder were detached, under Hephæstion and Perdicas, to clear the road to the Indus, and to make all necessary preparations for crossing that river. After many severe conflicts, he subdued the Aspiæ, Thyræi, Arasaci, and As-

\* Curtius, l. vii. c. 3.

† See "le Voyage du Père Desdoutin." It was performed in the year 1715. *Lettres Édifiantes*, xv. 185.

‡ Arrian, p. 97, & seqq.

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soeni; scoured the banks of the Ghos and Co-phones; expelled the Barbarians from their fastnesses; and drove them towards their northern mountains; which supply the sources of the Oxus and the Indus.

Aornos  
taken.

Near the western margin of the latter, one place, defended by the Baziri\*, still defied his assaults. This place, called by the Greeks Aornos, afforded refuge not only to the Baziri, but to the most warlike of their neighbours, after their other strongholds had surrendered. From its description, it appears to have been admirably adapted to the purpose of a long and vigorous defence. Mount Aornos was two hundred furlongs in circuit; eleven in height, where lowest; accessible by only one dangerous path cut in the rock by art; containing, near the top, a plentiful spring of water, a thick and lofty wood, together with a sufficient quantity of arable land to employ the labour of a thousand men. An emulation of glory prompted Alexander to make himself master of a place, which fable described as impregnable to the greatest heroes of antiquity†. By the voluntary assistance and direc-

\* It is worthy of remark, that the descendants of Alexander's followers have been recognised in Bijore, the country of the Baziri. Several oriental writers, particularly the author of the *Ayin Acharen*, maintain this fact; the bare report of which argues a perfect conviction in the minds of the natives, that Alexander subjected Bijore, and transferred his conquests to his countrymen. *Mahmud's Memoirs*, 2d edition, p. 152.

† Arrian, p. 98. who supplies the particulars in the text, says, that he knows not whether it was the Grecian, Tyrian, or Egyptian Hercules, who laid siege unsuccessfully to Aornos. He doubts whether any of them ever penetrated to India; adding, that the name of Hercules appears to him to have been employed, on this occasion, as on many others, "as πομπή τε λόγῳ," "as an ostentatious fiction."

tion of some neighbouring tribes, hostile to the C H A P. XXXIX. Baziri; Ptolemy ascended part of the rock unperceived; Alexander with his usual diligence raised a mount, erected his engines, and prepared to annoy the enemy. But, before he had an opportunity to employ the resources of his genius, by which he had taken places still stronger than Aornos, the garrison sent a herald, under pretence of surrendering on terms, but in reality with a view to protract negotiation during the whole day, and at night to effect their escape. Alexander, who suspected this intention, met their art with similar address. Patiently waiting till the Indians descended the mountain, he took possession of the strong-hold which they had abandoned, having previously posted a proper detachment to intercept the fugitives, and punish their perfidy.

The Macedonians proceeded southward from Aornos, into the country between the Alexander marches to Nysa and Mount Meros. Cophenes and the Indus. In this fertile district, the army, as it advanced towards Mount Meros and the celebrated Nysa, was met by a deputation from the citizens of that place, which (could we believe historic flattery) had been founded in the heroic or rather in the fabulous ages, by a Grecian colony under Bacchus\* at the eastern extremity of his conquests. These wandering *Greeks*, might we indulge for a moment the supposition that the inhabitants of Nysa were really entitled to that name, appear in this Indian soil to have degenerated from the courage, while they preserved the policy, the eloquence, and the artifices, of their European

\* Arrian Indic. c. 1.

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brethren. Being immediately conducted to Alexander, who had just sat down in his tent, covered with sweat and dust, and still armed with his casque and lance, they testified great horror at his aspect, and threw themselves prostrate on the ground. The King having raised them from this humiliating posture, and addressed them with his usual condescension, they recovered sufficient boldness, to entreat him to spare their country and their liberties, for the sake of Bacchus their founder. In proof of this allegation, they insisted on the name Nysa, derived from the nurse\* of Bacchus, and on the abundance, not only of vines and laurel, but of ivy, which grew in *their* territory, and in no other part of India. Alexander, willing to admit a pretension, which might attest to succeeding ages that he had carried his conquests still farther than Bacchus†,

\* The respect shewn by the Greeks to their nurses is well known, and is attested by the tragedians. In this respect, the modern Greeks still imitate their ancestors. The word employed to signify a nurse, properly denotes "a second mother." See Monsieur Guys' Voyage Littéraire de la Grèce, Lettre v.

† Strabo shews the Cyrenians, and many other ancient writers asserted, that the fictions concerning Bacchus' expedition to the East, were invented by the flatterers of Alexander. But Strabo justly observes that the belief of that expedition long preceded the age of the son of Philip. To justify this observation, he cites the verses of Sophocles and Euripides. The latter of these poets, in the prologue to his *Bacchæ*, introduces Bacchus, saying, that he had come to Thebes, and adorned with vines the temple of Semele.

Δισσιν δὲ Λυδῶν τὰς πολυχρόας ῥυαὶς  
 φέρων, τὰ Περσῶν θ' ἑρμολύτους σπάρκας  
 Βακχῶν, τὰ τεύχεα καὶ τὰ θυρῶν καὶ χθονῶν  
 Μυθῶν, σπλῦθαι Ἀρᾶς τ' ὑδαμῶνα  
 Ἀσιαὶ τε πάσαι, ἢ παρ' ἄλλωθεν ἄλλα  
 Κῶται, μέγα πρὶν Ἑλλήσι Βακχῶν θ' οἶμα.  
 Πλήρης ἔχουσα καλλυπυρῶντος πόλιν.

readily granted their request. Having understood G. H. A. P.  
that Nysa was governed by an aristocracy, he de- XXXIX.  
mandated, as hostages, an hundred of their prin-  
cipal citizens, and three hundred of their cavalry.  
This demand excited the smile of Acuphis, who  
headed the embassy. Alexander desired him to  
interpret his smile. He replied, "O king! you  
are welcome to three hundred of our horsemen,  
and more, should you require them. But can you  
believe it possible that any city should long con-  
tinue safe, after losing an hundred of its most  
virtuous citizens? Instead of one hundred of the  
best, should you be contented with two hundred  
of the worst, men in Nysa, be assured that, at

"Leaving the golden fields of the Lydians, the sun-beat plains of Phrygia and Persia; the Bactrian fortresses, and the wintry storms of the Medes—having over-run happy Arabia, and the maritime provinces of Asia, crowned with fair turreted cities, inhabited by mingled Greeks and Barbarians." Sophocles mentions Nysa in particular *Βούρας Νύσσα Νύσσα*. Vide Strabo, l. xv. p. 687. Notwithstanding such respectable authorities for the vulgar tradition, both Strabo and Arrian treat the expedition of Bacchus to India as a fable; the geographer on the following grounds: 1. Because the relations of authors on this subject are totally inconsistent. 2. Because many of the writers who accompanied Alexander are altogether silent concerning this matter. 3. Because the intermediate countries, between Greece and India, possess no monuments of this pretended expedition. Strabo, p. 688. The philosophical historian discovers his sentiments to be the same with Strabo, but expresses himself with more tenderness for the popular superstition, concluding, "καὶ ἀρκούντες ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παλαιῶν, μεμνημένων;" "that the traditions of the ancients concerning the Gods ought not to be too carefully sifted." Arrian, p. 101. An observation which might have merited the attention of those who, in later times, have ventured to explain historically, or to analyze, the Grecian mythology.



C. II. A. P. your return, you will find this country in as flourishing a condition as when you left it." Pleased with his address, Alexander remitted his demand of the magistrates: he was accompanied by the cavalry, and by the son and nephew of Acuphis, who were ambitious to learn the art of war under such an accomplished general.

Alexander passes the Indus, and receives the submission of Taxiles. The transactions which we have described, and a march of sixteen days from the Oxus to the Indus, allowed time for Hephæstion and Perdicas to make the preparations necessary for passing the latter river, probably by a bridge of boats\*. On the eastern bank, Alexander received the submission of the neighbouring princes. Of these, Taxiles, who was the most considerable, brought, besides other valuable presents, the assistance of seven thousand Indian horse, and surrendered his capital, Taxila, the most wealthy and populous city between the Indus and Hydaspes. But the

\* Arrian, p. 100 & 103, leaves it uncertain in what manner the bridge was constructed. Neither that accurate writer, nor the other careless describers of the exploits of Alexander, ascertain the place of the river, at which the Macedonians crossed that river. Major Rennel, late surveyor-general of Bengal, has the following observations in his admirable memoir on the map of Indostan: "I take it for granted, that Alexander crossed the Indus at the place where the city of Attock now stands; as it appears to have been in all ages the pass on the Indus leading from the countries of Cabul and Candahar into India. . . . Attock must then stand on the site of the Taxila of Alexander." From thence as his intention seems to have been to penetrate by the shortest way to the Ganges, he would proceed by the ordinary road to that part of the bank of the Hydaspes (or Behist) where the fortress of Rohil now stands; and here he put in execution his stratagem for crossing the river, whilst the opposite shore was possessed by Porus." Of which more in the text.

King who never allowed himself to be outdone in CHAP, generosity, restored and augmented the dominions XXXVIII. of Taxiles.

The army crossed the Indus about the time of Prepares to pass the Hydaspes, notwithstanding the opposition of Porus. the summer solstice, at which season the Indian rivers are swelled by heavy rains, as well as by the melted snow, which descends in torrents from Paropamisus. Trusting to this circumstance, Porus, a powerful and warlike prince, had encamped on the Shantrou, or Hydaspes, with thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three hundred armed chariots, and two hundred elephants. At an inconsiderable distance from the main body, his son commanded a detachment, consisting of the same kind of forces, which were all well accoutred and excellently disciplined. Alexander perceived the difficulty of passing the Hydaspes in the face of this formidable host; a difficulty which must be greatly increased by the elephants, whose noise, and smell, and aspect, were alike terrible to cavalry. He therefore collected provisions on the opposite bank, and industriously gave out that he purposed to delay passing the river till a more favourable season. This artifice deluded not the Indians; and Porus kept his post. The King next had recourse to a different stratagem. Having posted his cavalry in separate detachments along the river, he commanded them to raise in the night loud shouts of war, and to fill the bank with agitation and tumult, as if they had determined at all hazards to effect their passage. The noise roused the enemy, and Porus conducted his elephants

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Disposi-  
tions for  
that pur-  
pose.

wherever the danger threatened. This scene was repeated several successive nights; during which the Barbarians were fatigued and harassed by perpetual alarms. Porus discovering, as he fondly believed that nothing was intended by this vain noise but merely to disturb his repose, at length desisted from following the motions of the Macedonian cavalry, and remained quiet in his encampment, having stationed proper guards on the bank\*.

The false security of Porus enabled Alexander to effect his long-meditated purpose. At the distance of about eighteen miles from his camp, and at the principal winding of the Hydaspes, there stood a lofty rock, thickly covered with trees; and near to this rock, an island, likewise over-run with wood and uninhabited. Such scenery was favourable for concealment: it immediately suggested to Alexander the design of passing the river with a strong detachment, which he resolved to command in person, as he seldom did by others what he could himself perform; and amidst the variety of operations, always claimed for his own, the task of importance or danger. The Macedonian phalanx, the new levies from Paropamisus, together with the Indian auxiliaries, and one division of the cavalry, remained under the command of Craterus. They had orders to amuse the enemy by making fires in the night, and by preparing openly, during day time, to cross the Hydaspes. While

\* Arrian, l. v. p. 107. & seqq.

these operations were carrying on by Craterus, CHAP. XXXIV.  
 Alexander, having collected hides and boats, marched up the country with a choice body of light infantry, the Archers and Agrians, the Bactrian, Scythian, and Parthian\* cavalry, together with a due proportion of heavy-armed troops; the whole a well-assorted brigade, adapted to every mode of warfare required by the nature of the ground, the arms or disposition of the enemy. Having receded from the bank to a distance sufficiently remote for eluding the observation of Porus, he advanced towards the rock and island; and in this secure post prepared to embark, after taking such precautions against the vicissitudes of war and fortune, as could be suggested only by the most profound military genius. The orders given to Craterus were precise: should the Indians perceive, and endeavour to interrupt the passage to the rock and island, he was in that case to hasten over with his cavalry; otherwise not to stir from his post, until he observed Porus advancing against Alexander, or flying from the field. At an equal distance between the bank where Alexander meant to pass, and the camp where Craterus lay, Attalus and Meleager were posted with a powerful body of mercenaries, consisting chiefly of Indian mountaineers, who had been defeated by the Macedonians, and taken into pay by the conqueror. To provide for any unforeseen accident, sentinels

\* Arrian calls them the Dahæ; they were *ισχυροί* "archers on horseback" Arrian, l. v. p. 109.

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The passage effected.

were placed along the bank, at convenient distances, to observe, and repeat signals. Fortune favoured these judicious dispositions. A violent tempest concealed from the enemy's outguards the tumult of preparation; the clasp of armour and the voice of command being overpowered by the complicated crash of ruin and thunder. When the storm somewhat abated, the horse and infantry, in such proportions as both the boats and hides could convey, passed over, and pursued, into the island. Alexander led the king accompanied in his vessel of thirty oars by Seleucus, Ptolemy, Perdicas, and Lysimachus, names destined to fill the ancient world, when their renown was no longer repressed by the overwhelming greatness of their master's glory.

The King first reached the opposite bank, in sight of the enemy's out-guards, who hastened, in trepidation, to convey the unwelcome intelligence to Porus. The Macedonians meanwhile, formed in order of battle; but, before meeting their enemies, they had to struggle with an unforeseen difficulty. The coast on which he landed was the shore of another island, disjoined from the continent by a river commonly fordable, but actually so much swelled by the rains of the preceding night, that the water reached the breasts of the men, and the necks of the horses. Having passed this dangerous stream with his cavalry and target-bears, Alexander advanced with all possible expedition, considering that should Porus offer battle, there

Salles would resist till joined by the heavy infantry, CHAP. XXXIX.  
but should the Indians be struck with panic at this unexpected passage of the Hydaspes, the light-armed troops would thus be in time to attack and pursue them with advantage.

Upon the first alarm given by his out-guards, Porus' son defeated and slain.  
Porus detached his son to oppose the landing of the enemy with two thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty armed chariots. These forces, arriving too late to defend the bank, were speedily broken and put to flight by the equestrian archers; their leader and four hundred horsemen were slain; most of the chariots were taken; the silt of the river, which rendered them unserviceable in the action, likewise interrupting their flight.

The sad news of this discomfiture deeply affected Porus; but his immediate danger allowed not time for reflection. Craterus visibly prepared to pass the river, and to attack him in front; his flanks were threatened with the shock of the Macedonian horse, elated by recent victory. In this emergency the Indian appears to have acted with equal prudence and firmness. Unable to oppose this complicated assault, he left part of the elephants under a small guard, to frighten rather than resist, Craterus' cavalry; while, at the head of his whole army, he marched in person to meet the more formidable division of his enemies, commanded by their King. His horse amounted to four, and his foot to thirty thousand; but the part of his strength in which he seemed most to confide, consisted of three hundred armed chariots, and

Dispositions made by Porus for resisting the enemy.

CHAP. two hundred elephants. With these forces, Porus  
 XXIX. advanced, until he found a plain sufficiently dry  
 and firm for his chariots to wheel. He then ar-  
 ranged his elephants at intervals of one hundred  
 feet: in these intervals he placed his infantry a  
 little behind the line. By this order of battle, he  
 expected to intimidate the enemy, (since) their  
 horse, he thought, would be deterred from ad-  
 vancing at sight of the elephants; and their in-  
 fantry, he imagined, would not venture to attack  
 the Indians in front, while they must be themselves  
 exposed to be attacked in flank, and trampled  
 under foot by those terrible animals. At either  
 extremity of the line, the elephants bore huge  
 wooden towers, filled with armed men. The ca-  
 valry formed the wings, covered in front with the  
 armed chariots.

Skilful  
 manœuvres  
 of the Ma-  
 cedonian  
 army.

Alexander by this time appeared at the head of  
 the royal cohort, and equestrian archers. Perceiv-  
 ing that the enemy had already prepared for battle,  
 he commanded a halt, until the heavy-armed  
 troops should join. This being effected, he al-  
 lowed them time to rest and recover strength,  
 carefully encircling them with the cavalry; and  
 meanwhile examined, with his usual diligence, the  
 disposition of the Indians. Upon observing their  
 order of battle, he immediately determined not  
 to attack them in front, in order to avoid encoun-  
 tering the difficulties which Porus had artfully  
 thrown in his way; and at once resolved on an  
 operation, which, with such troops as those whom  
 he commanded, could scarcely fail to prove de-

wise, by his tacit and skillful manoeuvres, altogether unintelligible to the Indians, he moved imperceptibly towards their left wing, with the flower of his cavalry. The remainder, conducted by Ganus, stretched towards the right, having orders to wheel at a given distance, that they might attack the Indians in rear, should they wait to receive the shock of Alexander's squadrons. A thousand equestrian archers directed their rapid course towards the same wing; while the Macedonian foot remained firm in its post, waiting the event of this complicated assault, which appears to have been conducted with the most precise observance of time and distance.

The Indian horse, harassed by the equestrian archers, and exposed to the danger of being surrounded, were obliged to form into two divisions, of which one prepared to resist Alexander, and the other faced about to meet Ganus. But this evolution so much disordered their ranks and dejected their courage, that they were totally unable to stand the shock of the Macedonian cavalry, which surpassed them as much in strength and spirit, as it excelled them in discipline. The fugitives took refuge, as behind a line of friendly towers, in the intervals that had been left between the elephants. These fierce animals were then conducted against the enemy's horse; which movement was no sooner observed by the infantry, than they seasonably advanced, and galled the assailants with darts and arrows. Wherever the elephants turned, the Macedonians opened their ranks, finding it dangerous

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The battle  
of the Hy-  
daspes.



CH. IV. to resist them with a close and desperate battle. Meanwhile, the Indians bravely rallied, and were repelled with greater loss than before. They again sought the same friendly retreat; but their flight was now intercepted, and themselves almost entirely surrounded, by the Macedonian ranks; at the same time, still the elephants, having lost their riders, enraged at being pent up within so narrow spaces, and furious through their wounds, proved more formidable to friends than foes, because the Macedonians, having the advantage of superior ground, could every where give vent to their fury.

The Indians defeated.

The battle was decided before the division, and the Greeks passed the river. But the arrival of these fresh troops rendered the pursuit peculiarly destructive. The unfortunate Porus, lost both his sons, all his captives, twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. The elephants, spent with fatigue, were slain or taken; even the armed chariots were hacked in pieces, having proved formidable in show only, could we believe that little more than three hundred men perished on the side of Alexander. An obvious inconsistency too often appears in the historians of that conqueror: With a view to enhance his merit, they describe and exaggerate the valour and resistance of his enemies.

\* Arrian, p. 112.

† See Arrian, p. 112. The observation applies not, however, to that historian, Strabo, to Diodorus, and Arrian, from whom he derived the material; nor could it be expected that these generals should preserve perfect impartiality in relating the exploits of a master whom they admired.

but in compelling the numbers of the slain, they have been obliged to allow this matter and resistance to have reduced their adequate effects.

The Indian king, having behaved with great gallantry in his engagements, was the last to leave the field. His flight being retarded by his wounds,

of The modern histories of Alexander, universally misrepresent this conference. All of them, as far as I know, make him say, "that he desires to be treated like a King," as an explanation, which cannot be reconciled with Alexander's reply, "I am not a King yet, but I will be so." The only explanation which can be reconciled with Alexander's reply, "I am not a King yet, but I will be so," is that he was not a King yet, but he was going to be so.

CHAPTER XXXIX. **over-discerned virtue better than Alexander, or was more studious to reward it.** Struck with the firmness of Porus, he declared him installed on his throne; acknowledged him for his ally and his friend; and, having soon afterwards received the submission of the Glaucæ, who possessed thirty-seven cities on his eastern frontier, the least of which contained five thousand, and many of the greatest above ten thousand inhabitants, he added this populous province to the dominions of his new confederate. Immediately after the battle, he interred the slain, performed the accustomed sacrifices, and exhibited gymnastic and equestrian games on the banks of the Hydaspes. Before leaving that river, he founded two cities, Nicaa and Bucephalia: the former was so called, to commemorate the victory gained near the place where it stood: the latter, situate on the opposite bank, was named in honour of his horse Bucephalus\*, who died there, worn out by age and fatigue. A large division of the army remained under the command of Craterus, to build and fortify these new cities.

Founda-  
tion of  
Nicaa and  
Bucepha-  
lia.

"I will act towards you, O Porus! as becomes a King, on my own account: but what do you desire that I should do on yours?"

\* This generous animal, who had so long shared the toils and dangers of his master, had formerly received signal marks of royal regard. Having disappeared in the country of the Uxii, Alexander issued a proclamation, commanding his horse to be restored, otherwise he would ravage the whole country with fire and sword. This command was immediately obeyed. "So dear," says Arrian, "was Bucephalus to Alexander, and so terrible was Alexander to the Barbarians." Arrian, p. 114.

In promoting the success of Alexander, the CHAP.  
 force of his generosity, conspired with the force of XXXIX.  
 his arms. Without encountering any memorable Alexander  
 resistance, he reduced the dominions of another passes the  
 prince named Poros, and the valuable country be- Acesines  
 tween the Acesines and the Hydraotes. In effect- and Hy-  
 ing this conquest, the obstacles of nature were the draotes.  
 principal, or rather the only, enemies, with whom  
 he had to contend. The river Acesines, fifteen  
 furlongs broad, is deep and rapid; many parts of  
 its channel are filled with large and sharp rocks,  
 which, opposing the rapidity of the stream, oc-  
 casion loud and foaming billows, mixed with boil-  
 ing eddies and whirlpools, equally frightful, and  
 still more dangerous. Of the Macedonians, who  
 attempted to pass in boats, many drove against  
 the rocks, and perished; but such as employed  
 hides, reached the opposite shore in safety. The  
 Hydraotes is of the same breadth with the Ace-  
 sines, but flows with a gentle current. On its  
 eastern bank, Alexander learned that the Cathari,  
 Malli, and other independent Indian tribes, pre-  
 pared to resist his progress. They had encamped  
 on the side of the hill, near the city Sangala, two  
 days march from the Hydraotes; and, instead of  
 a breast-work, had fortified themselves with a  
 triple row of carriages. Alexander advanced with  
 his cavalry; the Indians stirred not from their  
 post, but, mounting their carriages, poured forth  
 a shower of missile weapons. Alexander perceiving  
 the cavalry unfit for such a warfare, immediately  
 dismounted, and conducted a battalion of foot

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Sangala  
besieged  
and taken.

against the enemy. The lines were drawn, where weakest; some passages were opened; the Macedonians rushed in; and the Indians, being successively driven from their triple barrier, fled in precipitation to Sangala.

The walls of that place were too extensive to be completely invested. On one side, the town was skirted by a lake, long and broad, but not deep. Alexander suspecting that the Indians, intimidated by their former defeat, would attempt to escape in the night, caused the lake to be surrounded with his cavalry. This precaution was attended with success. The foremost of the Indians were cut to pieces by the advanced guards of the Macedonian horse; the rest escaped with difficulty to Sangala.

Alexander then surrounded the greater part of the town with a rampart and a ditch, and prepared to advance his engines to batter the walls, when he was informed by some deserters, that the enemy still resolved, that very night, to steal, if possible, through the lake; if not, to force their way with their whole strength. Upon this intelligence Alexander posted Ptolemy the son of Lagus, with three thousand targeteers, one troop of archers, and all the Agrians, upon the spot where he sagaciously conjectured that the besieged would attempt to force their passage. At the first sound of the trumpet, the other commanders were to advance to the assistance of Ptolemy. Alexander declared his intention to share the common danger. By this judicious disposition, the enemy were successfully repelled, after leaving five hundred

men on the place. Meanwhile Porus, Alexander's principal ally, in those parts, arrived in the camp with five thousand Indians, and a considerable number of elephants. Encouraged by this reinforcement, the Macedonians prepared to terminate the siege. The engines were got ready; the wall, built of brick, was undermined; the scaling ladders were fixed; several breaches were made; and the town was taken by assault. Seventeen thousand Indians are said to have perished in the sack of Sangala: above seventy thousand were taken prisoners; Sangala was razed: its confederates submitted or fled. Above an hundred Macedonians fell in the siege or assault; twelve hundred were wounded.

The persevering intrepidity of Alexander thus rendered him master of the valuable country, now called the Punjab, watered by the five great streams whose confluence forms the Indus\*. The banks of the Hyphasis, the most eastern of these rivers, which he actually intended to cross, allured by the flattering description of the adjoining territory,

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Eastern boundary of Alexander's conquests.

\* The Gentoo's distinguish Alexander by the epithets of Mhaahah, Dukkoyt, and Moortesh, "the great robber and assassin;" but most of the Oriental traditions are highly honourable to that prince, and extol his humanity not less than his prowess. The high idea entertained of him by the Indians, appears from their ascribing to his taste and magnificence the most remarkable monuments scattered over their immense country. See l'Examen Critique, p. 143, & seqq. M. Anquetil's Zend Avesta, t. i. p. 392. and Mr. Howell's Religion of the Gentoo's, p. 63.

CHAPTER XXXIX. were adorned by twelve Macedonian altars, equal in height, and exceeding in bulk, the greatest towers in that country. These monuments, erected midway between Dehli and Lahor\*, marked the

\* Probably near the place where the great western road passes between those cities. See D'Anville Geogr. Ancienne, and Gibbon's Hist. vol. i. c. ii. Major Bessel, however, in his admirable Memoir on the new Map of Hindostan, assigns reasons for believing that Alexander was not so high up the river. "After crossing," says he, "the Acesines, or Jenaub, and the Hydraotes or Ravee, which latter he may be supposed to cross at the place where Lahor now stands, he appears to be drawn out of the direct route towards the Ganges, to attack the city of Sangala, most probably lying between Lahor and Moultan. From Sangala he proceeded to the Hyphasis, or Setlege, most probably between Adjodin and Debalpour, by the circumstance of the deserts lying between him and the Ganges; for the country between the Beath and the Ganges is fertile and well inhabited, but that between the lower parts of the Setlege and the Ganges has really a desert in it, as Timur experienced in his march from Adjodin to Balnir. The distance between Alexander's position on the Hyphasis and the Jumma, as given by Pliny, accords with this opinion. He gives it as three hundred and thirty-six Roman miles, which, by a proper proportional scale, formed from his distances in known places, reaches from the banks of the Jumma to a point a little below the conflux of the Beath and Setlege. But had Alexander been as high up the river as the place where the great western road crosses from Lahor to Delhi, he would have been only two hundred and fifty such miles from the Jumma. This opinion is strengthened by the account of what happened immediately after; I mean his recrossing the Hydraotes, and then encamping on the bank of the Acesines, in a low situation, and where the whole country was flooded on the coming on of the periodical rains; which circumstance obliged him to move his camp higher up the river, into a more elevated country. This agrees perfectly with the description of the country. The lower parts of the courses of the Jenaub and Ravee are really through a low country; and these are also the parts nearest to Adjodin and Debalpour, between which places, I suppose, Alexander's altars were erected." The desert on the eastern

extremity of Alexander's empire; an empire thus limited, not by the difficulties of the country, or the opposition of enemies, but by the immovable and unanimous resolution of his European troops.

Invincible by his enemies, Alexander submitted to his friends, at whose desire he set bounds to his trophies in the East. But his restless curiosity prepared new toils and dangers for the army and himself. Having returned to the cities Nicæa and Bucephalla, he divided his forces, for the sake of exploring more carefully the unknown regions of India. Two divisions, respectively commanded by Cræterus and Hephæstion (for Cænus was now dead), had orders to march southward along the opposite banks of the Hydaspes. Philip, to whom he had committed the government of the provinces adjacent to Bactria, was recalled with the troops under his command; and the whole Macedonian conquests in India, including seven nations and above two thousand cities, were subjected to

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Alexander  
sails down  
the Hydaspes,  
ac-  
companied  
by his  
army.  
Olymp.  
cxliii. 3.  
A. C. 326.

Bank of the Hyphasis, between Alexander and the Ganges, is to be found in Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 612. and in the romantic description of Curtius, l. ix. c. ii. The existence of such a desert, at the extremity of Alexander's conquests, is scarcely reconcileable with Arrian, l. v. p. 119 who says, "that the country beyond the Hyphasis was rich and fertile, the inhabitants industrious and brave; governed by a moderate aristocracy; flourishing in peace and plenty; possessing a great number of elephants, and those of superior strength and stature."



the dominion of Porus. Meanwhile the Iobians, Oxyrians, Phœnicians, and other maritime nations, who followed the standard of Alexander, industriously built, or collected, there, two thousand vessels\*, for sailing down the Hydaspes till its junction with the Indus, and then along that majestic stream to the Indian ocean. On

"It may appear extraordinary," says Mr. Rennel, "that Alexander should, in the course of a few months, prepare so vast a fleet for his voyage down the Indus; especially as it is said to be the work of his army. But the Punjab country, like that of Bengal, is full of navigable rivers, which, communicating with the Indus, form an uninterrupted navigation from Cashmere to Patna, and no doubt abounded with vessels ready constructed to the conqueror's hands. I think it probable too, that the vessels in which Nearchus performed his coasting voyage to the gulf of Persia, were found in the Indus. Vessels of one hundred and eighty tons burden are sometimes used in the Ganges, and those of one hundred not unfrequently." It is worthy of observation, that this judicious conjecture of Mr. Rennel is justified by the words of Arrian. In speaking of the number of vessels, he says *αὐτὸν οὖν ἔχοντα πλοῖα τρία καὶ ἑκατὶ* (he had three hundred vessels). The vessels employed by Alexander appear, therefore, to have been partly collected on the Indian rivers, and partly constructed for the occasion. They were, 1. Long ships for the purpose of war; 2. Round ships, for carrying provisions, baggage, &c.; and 3. *πτερυγία πλοῖα*, vessels for transporting horses. Mr. Rennel's conjecture can only relate to the ships of burden. That the two other kinds were built by the Indians and Islanders, appears from Arrian, p. 124, & 181. The account of Alexander's embarkation, given in Arrian's expedition of Alexander, as well as in his Indian history, is inconsistent with the relation of Curtius, lib. viii. with that of Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 308, and that of Justin, l. xix. The narrative of Arrian is, however, confirmed by Strabo, l. xv. p. 1023. That accurate geographer informs us, that the fleet was constructed near the cities which Alexander had built on each side of the Hydaspes; and that the timber, chiefly pine, fir, and other, was brought from a wood near to Mount Emodus.

some moderns the King and his army were conveyed down the river to the mouth of the Indus.

board this fleet the King embarked in person with the third division of his forces. His navigation employed several months, being frequently retarded by hostilities with the natives, particularly the warlike tribe of the Malli. These Barbarians were driven from the open country; their cities were successively besieged and taken; but at the storm of their capital, a scene was transacted, which betrayed temerity in Alexander, and which would have indicated madness in any other general.

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When their streets were filled with the enemy, the Malli took refuge in their citadel. This fortress was defended by a thick wall, which, being thrown around the declivity of a mountain, was extremely lofty without, but towards the inner circumference of an inconsiderable height. Alexander, provoked by the obstinacy of the Indians, commanded the scaling-ladders to be applied with all possible expedition. But this service being performed more tardily than usual, the King, in his anger, snatched a ladder from one who carried it, and having fastened it to the wall, mounted with rapidity in defiance of the enemy's weapons. The Macedonians, alarmed by the danger of their general, followed in such numbers, that the ladder broke as Alexander reached the summit; the same accident happened to other ladders which were hastily applied, and injudiciously crowded. For some moments, the King thus remained alone on the wall, conspicuous by the brightness of his

Extraordinary adventure in besieging the Mallian fortress.

SHAP, arms, and the extraordinary of his valour, ex-  
 XXXIX. posed to thick volleys of hostile darts from the ad-  
 jacent towers. His resolution, more than valour,  
 was in his circumstances wise. At one bound he  
 sprang into the place, and posting himself at the  
 wall, slew the chief of the Mallis and three others,  
 who ventured to assault him. Meanwhile Abreas,  
 Leonnatus, and Peucestes, the Macedonians who  
 next reached the summit, imitated the example of  
 Alexander. Abreas was wounded and fell; his  
 companions, regardless of their own safety, defended  
 the King, whose breast had been pierced with an  
 arrow. They were soon covered with wounds, and  
 Alexander seemed ready to expire. By this time,  
 the Macedonians had burst through the gates of  
 the place. Their first concern was to carry off the  
 King; the second to revenge his death, for they  
 believed the wound to be mortal, as breath issued  
 forth with his blood. Some report, that the wea-  
 pon was extracted by Critodemus of Côs; others,  
 that no surgeon being near, Perdikkas, of the life-  
 guards, opened the wound with his sword, by his  
 master's command. The great effusion of blood  
 threatened his immediate dissolution; but a season-  
 able fainting fit, suspending the circulation, stopped  
 the discharge of blood, and saved the life of Alex-  
 ander. The affectionate admiration in which he  
 was held by his troops, appeared in their gloomy

"to drop the word; literally, 'the absurdity of his valour,'  
 could our idiom admit such an expression; 'error' properly signifies  
 'what has no place in nature.' It is commonly translated *absurd*, but  
 may here mean *supernatural*."

sedness during his danger, and their immoderate joy at his recovery.\*

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Having performed his intended voyage to the ocean, and provided necessaries for a long march, Alexander determined to proceed towards Persopolis, through the barren solitudes of Gedrosia. This arduous design was not inspired by an idle ambition to surpass the exploits of Cyrus and Semiramis, whose armies were said to have perished in those deserts, but prompted by the necessity of supplying with water the first European fleet which navigated the Indian sea, explored the Persian gulph, and examined the mouths of the Euphrates, and the Tigris. This important voyage was performed, and afterwards related, by Nearchus, whose enterprising genius was worthy of the master whom he served. In discovering the sea and the land, the fleet and army of Alexander mutually assisted each other. By the example of the King, both were taught to

Marches  
through  
the Gedro-  
sian de-  
sert  
Olymp.  
cxiii 4  
A. C. 325

Voyage of  
Nearchus.

\* The extraordinary adventure related in the text, is said by Curtius, & ix. c. iv. to have happened in storming a city of the Oxidracæ. Diodor. (Dial. enort.) & Pausan. (Attic.) agree with Curtius. But these are feeble authorities compared with Arrian, l. vi. p. 127, & seqq. & Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1036.

† Nearchus was a native of Crete, but had long resided in Amphipolis. The journal of his celebrated voyage from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Euphrates, is preserved in Arrian's Indian history, from c. xii. to c. lvi. inclusively. Five months were employed in this voyage, during three of which the fleet kept the sea. Nearchus sailed in the month of September, and arrived in April in the Euphrates, Arrian, Hist. Indic. c. 20, & seqq. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vi. c. xliii. The relation of this illustrious admiral has been called in question by Dodwell, Hardouin, and Huet; but its authenticity is asserted by the best critics, and confirmed by all the best modern geographers.

**CHAP. XXXIX.** despise toil and danger. On foot, and encumbered with his armour, he traversed the tempestuous sands of the Persian coast, sharing the hunger, thirst, and fatigue of the meanest soldier; nor was it till after a march of two months, distinguished by unexampled hardships, that the army emerged into the cultivated province of Carmania.

Alexander is joined in Carmania by various divisions of his army.

In this country Alexander was met by a division of his forces, which he had sent under the command of Craterus through the territories of the Arii and Drangæ. Stasanor and Phrataphernes, governors of those warlike nations, and of the more northern provinces of Parthia and Hyrcania, brought a seasonable supply of camels and other beasts of burthen, to relieve the exigencies of an army enfeebled by disease and exhausted by fatigue. The waste of men, occasioned by this unhappy expedition, was repaired by the ar-

Parties were continually employed, on all sides, in searching for water. On one occasion, they were more unfortunate than usual; the heat of the sun was excessive, and reflected by the scorching sand; Alexander marched on foot, parched with thirst, exhausted by fatigue, and oppressed by care. Amidst these distressful circumstances, some soldiers discovering a small quantity of turbid water brought it in great haste to the King. He received the present with thanks, then poured it on the ground; and the water, thus spilt, refreshed not only Alexander, but the whole army. Arrian, p. 141.

† Plutarch says, that the march through Gedrosia cost Alexander near one hundred thousand men; a palpable exaggeration, since he supposes the whole army, at their departure from India, to have amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse; of which one division embarked with Neurotes, and another marched under the command of Craterus, through the territories of the Arii and Drangæ; little more than a third part of the whole number entered the Gedrosian deserts.

rival of numerous battalions from Media, which rendered the standard of Alexander sufficiently respectable. Cleander and Sitalus, the commanders of those forces, were accused by the Medes of despoiling their temples, ransacking their tombs, and committing other detestable deeds of avarice and cruelty. Their own soldiers confirmed the accusation; and their crimes were punished with death. This prompt justice gave immediate satisfaction, and served as a salutary example in future; for, of all the rules of government, practised by this illustrious conqueror, none had a stronger tendency to confirm his authority, and consolidate his empire, than his vigilance to restrain the rapacity of his lieutenants, and to defend his subjects from oppression\*.

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He punishes the misconduct of his generals.

Among the fables which give the air of romance to the memorable exploits of Alexander, we may reckon the triumphant procession through Carmania. In imitation of Bacchus, Alexander is said to have traversed this province, amidst dancing and music, crowned with flowers, intoxicated with wine, and indulging, with his followers, the utmost extravagance of disorder and folly†. The revel continued seven days, during which a small body

Improbable account of the march through Carmania.

\* Εἰς τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου τὰ εἶδη τὰ ἐκ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἀναγράφει, ὡς ἔμελλε παρασκευασθῆναι, τὰς πόλεις μὲν πάλαι ὄντας, τὰς δὲ νεωτέρως ἀνασκευασθῆναι ὅτι καὶ εἰς τὸν πότον τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου Βασιλέων ἐνδείκνυται τὸν ἀρχαῖον καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα. Arrian, l. vi. p. 148. "This, especially, Sept. 11, gave the nations that were either subdued by Alexander, or voluntarily submitted to him (numerous and remote as they were); that under the reign of this prince, the governors durst not injure the governed."

† Plat. in Alexand. Diodor. p. 573.

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of sober men might have overruled this army of bacchanals, and avenged the cause of Darius and of Asia. Were not this improbable fiction discountenanced by the silence of contemporary writers, it would be refuted by its own absurdity. Instead of yielding to the transports of mad joy, Alexander, whose heart was extremely susceptible of compassion, must have been deeply afflicted by the recent loss of so many brave men; and the necessity of his affairs, to which he was ever duly attentive, admitted not of unseasonable delay.

Punishment of the governors of Babylon, Persopolis, and Susa.

Encouraged by the long absence of their master, and the perils to which his too adventurous character continually exposed his life, Harpalus, Orsines, and Abullites, who were respectively governors of Babylon, Persopolis, and Susa, began to despise his orders, and to act as independent princes, rather than accountable ministers. In such emergencies, Alexander knew by experience the advantage of celerity. He therefore divided his army. The greater part of the heavy-armed troops were entrusted to Hephæstion, with orders to proceed along the sea-coast, and to attend the motions of the fleet commanded by Nearchus. With the remainder, the King hastened to Pasargadaë. Orsines was convicted of many enormous crimes, which were punished with as enormous severity.

\* Curtius, l. ix. c. x.

† Arrian informs us, that neither Ptolemy nor Aristobulus make the least mention of this extraordinary transaction, which he treats with proper contempt. Vid. Arrian, p. 142.

‡ Arrian, who excuses Alexander's adopting the Persian manners, repeatedly blames him for imitating the Barbarian punishments.

Baryaces, a Mede, who had assumed the royal tiara, suffered death; his numerous adherents shared his fate. The return of Alexander from the east proved fatal to Abulites, and his son Oxathates, who, during the absence of their master, had cruelly oppressed the wealthy province of Susiana, and particularly the inhabitants of the capital. Harpalus, whose conduct at Babylon had proved equally flagitious, escaped with his treasures to Athens; the avarice of the Athenians engaged them to receive this wealthy fugitive; but their fears forbade them to harbour the enemy of Alexander. By a decree of the people, he was expelled from Attica, and this traitor to the most generous of princes seems himself to have been soon afterwards treacherously slain\*. The brave Peucestes, who had saved Alexander's life at the assault of the Mallian fortress, was promoted to the government of Persia. In this important command, he shewed that the virtues of sound policy are not incompatible with the most adventurous valour.

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Petcestes  
rewarded.

\* Comp. Curtius, l. 10. c. ii. Plut. in Demosthen. Diodor. l. xvi. p. 19. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 576. But all these writers omit the first crime of Harpalus, mentioned by Arrian, the pardon of which does great honour to the clemency of Alexander. Harpalus, even in the life time of Philip, had gained the friendship of his illustrious son, who, soon after mounting the throne, employed him as his treasurer. But, before the battle of Issus, this unworthy minister betrayed his trust, and fled to Megara. Alexander unwilling hastily to condemn an old friend, who had for his sake incurred the resentment of Philip, ascribed the misconduct of Harpalus to the bad counsels of Tauriscus, a daring villain, who had accompanied his flight. After the death of Tauriscus, he prevailed on Harpalus again to return to his service, and again entrusted him with the custody of his treasures.



**CHAP. XXXIX.** By conforming to the customs, adopting the manners, and using the language of the vanquished, he acquired the affectionate respect of the people committed to his care. His pliant condescension, directed by sound policy, was highly approved by the discernment of Alexander; but his affectionation of foreign manners greatly offended the pride of his Macedonian countrymen.

Alexander improves the internal state of his conquests. Olymp. cxliii. 4. A. C. 325.

In the central provinces of his empire, which from time immemorial had been the seat of Asiatic pomp and luxury, Alexander spent the last, and not the least glorious, year of his reign. In the nervous language of antiquity, the world was silent in his presence; and his only remaining care was to improve and consolidate his conquests. For these important purposes, he carefully examined the course of the Eulæus, the Tigris, and the Euphrates; and the indefatigable industry of his troops was judiciously employed in removing the weirs, or dams, by which the timid ignorance of the Persian Kings, and their jealousy of the mutinous Babylonians, had obstructed the navigation of those great rivers. But Alexander, having no reason to dread fleets of war, wished to invite those of commerce. The harbours were repaired; arsenals were constructed; a basin was formed at Babylon sufficient to contain a thousand gallees. By these and similar improvements, he expected to facilitate internal intercourse among his central provinces, while by opening new channels of communication, he hoped to unite the wealthy countries of Egypt and the East, with the most remote regions of the earth. His ships were sent to ex-

plare the Persian and Arabian gulfs. Archias C.H.A.P.  
 brought him such accounts of the former, that he XXXIX.  
 determined to plant its shores with Grecian colo- Sends ves-  
 nies. Hieron of Soli proceeded farthest in ex- sels to ex-  
 ploring the Arabian coast; but he found it impos- plore the  
 sible to double the southern extremity of that im- Persian  
 mense peninsula, and still more to remount (as he and Ara-  
 had been commanded by Alexander) to the city bian  
 Hieropolis in Egypt. This daring enterprise gulfs.  
 seemed to be reserved for the King in person. It  
 is certain, that shortly before his death, he took  
 measures for examining this great southern gulf,  
 as well as for discovering the shores of the Caspian  
 Sea, which, though described as a vast lake by  
 Herodotus, was by many believed to communicate  
 with the Northern Ocean\*.

But objects, less remote, demanded his more Restrains  
 immediate attention. In the winter season, the the inun-  
 waters of the Euphrates, which produce the dations of  
 extraordinary fertility of Assyria, are confined the Eu-  
 within their lofty channel. But in spring and phrates  
 summer, and especially towards the summer solstice,  
 they overflow their banks, and, instead of water-  
 ing, would totally deluge the adjacent territory, un-  
 less the superfluous moisture were discharged into  
 the great canal of Pallacopas. This artificial river,  
 formed, it is said, by Nebuchadnezzar, commences  
 an hundred miles below Babylon. It is not fed  
 by springs, nor replenished from mountain snows,  
 but branching from the great trunk of the Eu-

\* Asiatick, l. viii. p. 156.

† "This country," according to Strabo, "is more fertile than  
 any other; producing, it is said, three hundred fold." Strabo, p.  
 257. of Asia etc.

CHAP. XXXIX. Euphrates, moderates its too impetuous stream, by diverting it into the sea, through lakes and marshes by various, and for the most part, invisible, outlets. But this useful contrivance finally defeated its own purpose. The Pallacopas gradually sunk into its soft and oozy bed, and the Euphrates, which even originally was much higher than this canal, continued to flow into the new channel, even after the season when its waters cease to rise by the melting of the Armenian snows. The diminution of the river rendered it insufficient to water the fields of Assyria; an inconvenience severely felt in a country seldom refreshed by rain. The governors of Babylon attempted unsuccessfully to remedy the evil, whose magnitude justly excited the attention of Alexander. From war, the mother of arts, he had learned to improve the benefits of peace. While preparations were making for more distant expeditions, he sailed down the Euphrates; carefully examining the nature of the soil; and having discovered, at the distance of about four miles from the inosculation of the Euphrates and Pallacopas, a hard and rocky bottom, he commanded a canal to be cut there, which served to moderate the inundations at one season, without too much draining the waters at another. Having performed this essential service to Assyria, he followed the course of the Pallacopas, and surveyed the lakes and marshes, which guard the Arabian frontiers. In the neighbourhood of his new canal, he observed a convenient situation for a city, which, being built and fortified, was peopled with those superannuated Greeks, who seemed no longer

Builds a  
city near  
the canal  
of Palla-  
copas.

capable of military service, and with such others of their countrymen as thought proper to settle in this fertile, though remote, country\*.

Animated by a zeal for public happiness, Alexander thus traversed the populous provinces of the East, and successively visited the imperial cities of Persepolis, Susa, Ecbatana and Babylon. These places, and others of inferior note, were adorned with signal marks of his taste, and respectively distinguished by transactions which discover the boldest, yet most enlightened, views of policy. The important design of uniting, by laws and manners, the subjects of his extensive monarchy, was ever present to his mind. For this purpose, he took care to incorporate in his Barbarian armies the Greeks and Macedonians. In each company, or rather in each division of sixteen, he joined four Europeans to twelve Asiatics. In the Macedonian squadrons and battalions, he intermixed, on the other hand, such of the Barbarians as were most distinguished by their strength, their activity, and their merit. Soon after the battle of Arbela, he had given orders to raise new levies in the conquered provinces. The Barbarian youth delighted in the Grecian exercise and discipline, and rejoiced at being associated to the glory of their victors. On the banks of the Tigris, Alexander was joined by a powerful body of those recruits, whose improvements in arts and arms fully answered his expectations, and justly rewarded his foresight. The arrival of such numerous auxiliaries enabled him to

C H A P.  
XXXIX.  
Incorporates the Barbarian levies with the Greeks and Macedonians.

CHAPTER XXXIX. discharge at Opis, a city, on the Tigris, such Greeks and Macedonians as were tired of the service worn out with age, or enfeebled by sickness. After an interesting scene, which we shall have occasion to describe, he dismissed those respectable veterans, loaded with wealth and honours. They were conducted by Craterus, whom he appointed to succeed Antipater in the administration of his European dominions; and Antipater, who had long administered that important trust with equal prudence and fidelity, was commanded to join his master with new levies from Greece, Thrace, and Macedon\*.

Pays the debts of his soldiers.

At Susa, Alexander learned that his soldiers, indulging the extravagance too natural to their profession, had contracted immense debts, which they had neither ability nor inclination to pay. Upon this intelligence, he issued orders that each man should give an exact account of what he owed, with the names of his creditors, declaring, that he was determined to satisfy them at his own expense. The troops suspected an intention merely to discover their characters, and to learn their economy or profusion. At first, therefore, many denied, and all diminished their debts. But Alexander issued a second declaration, "That it became not a prince to deceive his people, nor a people to suppose their prince capable of deceit." Faithful lists were immediately presented, and the whole debts discharged, to the amount it is said, of four millions sterling.

\* Arrian. ubi supra.

This event was accompanied by a transaction of a different kind, which discovers, however, the same spirit, and which equally endeared Alexander to his Asiatic subjects. In the royal palace of Susa, he publicly espoused Statira\*, the daughter of Darius; and bestowed her sister Drypetis on his friend Hephæstion, saying, that he wished their children to be kinsmen. By the advice of their master, Perdicas, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and other generals, intermarried with the most illustrious of the vanquished Barbarians. The soldiers were encouraged by presents, and by the hope of royal favour, to follow the example of their leaders; and it appeared from the catalogue of their names presented to the King, that above ten thousand Greeks and Macedonians married Asiatic women.

PC'H A' P  
XXXIX.  
Intermar-  
riages of  
the Euro-  
peans and  
Asiatics.

In all the cities which he visited, he was careful to celebrate the musical and gymnastic games; those distinguishing fruits of Grecian culture, which being adapted to gratify the senses, as well as to please the fancy, were beheld with delight even by the most ignorant Barbarians. Convinced that no-

Alexander  
prepares  
to exhibit  
dramatic  
entertain-  
ments at  
Ecbatana.  
Olymp.  
cxiv. h.

\* Gurtius, Justin, and Plutarch.

† Plutarch, seizing the true spirit of these regulations, exclaims, *ἡ βασιλεὺς ἔλεγον, καὶ αἰοντο, καὶ ματὴν πολλὰ τιεῖ τῶν Ἑλλησποντιῶν ποταμῶν γαμοῦς, ὡς ἐμμεροῦς βασιλεὺς Ἀσίαν ἑνωσάμενος, ἢ ἑνωσῆς, ἢ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀσυνεταῖσι δισμοῖς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ γαμοῖς σφραγίσαι, καὶ κοινοῖς παιδὶν τὰ γυνὴ συνάπτουσι.* "O! barbarous and foolish Hæcææ, that whp laboured in vain to throw a bridge over the Hellespont; it is thus that wise kings join Asia to Europe, not by boards, ships, lifeless and insensible bonds, but by lawful love, chaste nuptials, and the indissoluble tie of common progeny." Plut. Græc. l. de Fortun. Alexand. See likewise above, vol. i. c. ix. p. 420.

CHAPTER XXXIX. Nothing has a more direct tendency to unite and harmonise the minds and manners of men, than public entertainments and common pleasures. Alexander determined to introduce and diffuse the amusements of the theatre. For this purpose, above three thousand players and musicians, collected from all parts of Greece, assembled in Ecbatana, the capital of Media, which was chosen for the scene of those theatrical exhibitions.<sup>10</sup> But the sickness and death of Hephæstion changed this splendid spectacle into a melancholy obsequy. In the moment of his triumph, the King was deprived of his dearest friend.<sup>11</sup> This irreparable loss he felt and expressed with an affectionate ardour congenial to his character, and justified his immoderate sorrow by the inconsolable grief of Achilles for the fate of his beloved Pa-

Death of  
Hephæstion.

\* It should seem from Plutarch, that the entertainments of the theatre were soon diffused through other parts of Asia. *Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ ἐκμνησκόντος, Ὅμηρος ἐν ἀναγνώσματι, καὶ Πλάτων, καὶ Σωκράτης, καὶ Γάργασιον παῖδες τὰς Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους τραγωδίας ᾤοντο.* "Alexander having tamed Asia, Homer was read in the East; the children of the Persians, Susians, and Gedrosia, recited the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides." Plut. *ibid.*

† Next to Hephæstion, Craterus seems to have enjoyed the greatest share of Alexander's confidence; yet he often said, "Craterus loves the King, Hephæstion loves Alexander." Plutarch, in *Alexand.* In passing through the Troade, Alexander crowned the tomb of Achilles, and Hephæstion that of Patroclus. *Ælian. Var. Hist. xii. 7.*

‡ If in the melancholy shades below,  
The flames of friends and lovers cease to glow,  
Yet mine shall sacred last; and, undecay'd,  
Burn on through death, and animate my shade.

Pope's *Iliad*.

inclusion. During three days and nights after the death of Hephestion, Alexander neither changed his apparel, nor tasted food. A public mourning was observed throughout the empire... Funeral games were celebrated in the great cities; the royal cohort was commanded thenceforward to retain the name and banner of Hephestion\*; and the lofty genius of Stasicrates erected at Ecbatana a monument worthy of him, whom the obsequious oracle of Ammon declared deserving of heroic worship. To appease the grief of Alexander, his lieutenants dedicated their armour at the tomb of his friend. The example was given by Eumenes, the king's secretary, who shortly before Hephestion's death, had offended this illustrious favourite; a man who long and uninterruptedly enjoyed, without abusing in any one instance, the confidence of his master; who exercised power without pride, and enforced discipline without severity; whose conduct merited at once public respect and royal favour, and whose virtues disarmed envy†.

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His obsequies and honours.

\* According to Plutarch, Stasicrates proposed to form Mount Athos into a statue of Alexander, grasping a city with one hand, and with the other discharging a river into the sea. Plut. in Alexand. Vitruvius, l. ii. in Proem. & Lucian, t. ii. p. 489 ascribes this design to Dinocrates. Alexander extolled the boldness of the artist, but added, *Εα δὲ μὴν τοῖς Ἀθῶν κατὰ χεῖρας ἀρχὴ καὶ ἵπὸς βασιλέως πνεύματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις* "Let alone Mount Athos; it is enough that it is the monument of one king's folly already;" alluding to the event related above, vol. i. c. ix. p. 420.

† Arrian, p. 156, tells us, that concerning the funeral honours of Hephestion, innumerable and absurd fictions were invented by the friends and by the enemies of Alexander; nay, what is extraordinary, the same falsehoods were sometimes authorised by both; the former intending thereby to extol the warmth of his friendship, the latter to expose his extravagance and folly.



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Artifice  
to prevent  
his return  
to Baby-  
lon.

for the loss of Hephæstion. The death of his be-  
loved friend is said, by Artian, to have fastened  
his own. It certainly tinged his character with a  
deep melancholy, which rendered him susceptible  
of such impressions as the firmness of his manly  
soul would otherwise have resisted and repelled.

He, who had so often employed superstition as  
an instrument of policy, began himself to feel the  
power of that miserable passion. The servants of  
princes, ever quick in discerning, and dexterous  
in turning to their own profit, the foibles of their  
masters, soon discovered and abused the weakness  
of Alexander. Alarmed at the severe treatment  
of several of his colleagues, Apollodorus, a citi-  
zen of Amphipolis, who had been entrusted with  
the government of Babylon, practised with his  
brother Pythagoras, a diviner; and the latter, am-  
bitious to promote the greatness of his family, pre-  
tended to perceive in the victims evident marks of  
divine displeasure against the king, should he en-  
ter the gates of Babylon. Notwithstanding this  
menace, Alexander, after reducing the Cossæans,  
approached towards that city with his army. He  
was met by a long train of Chaldæan priests, who  
conjured him to change his resolution, because they  
had received an oracle from Belus, declaring that  
his journey thither would prove fatal. The in-  
terests of the Chaldæans conspired with the views  
of Apollodorus. The temple of Belus, a stu-  
pendous edifice, situate in the heart of Babylon,  
had been very richly endowed by the Assyrian  
kings. But the produce of the consecrated ground,

Instead of being applied to its original destination of repairing the temple, and offering sacrifices to the Gods, had ever since the impious reign of Xerxes, been appropriated by the Chaldæan priests. Alexander, it was well known, intended to reform this abuse; and, although his mind was not altogether unmoved by the admonition of the priests, he discerned their interested motives, and answered them by a verse of Euripides, "He's the best prophet that conjectures best." Foiled in their first attempt, the Chaldæans had recourse to another artifice. Since the king had determined at every hazard to visit Babylon, they entreated him at least, not to enter it on the eastern side, but to fetch a compass round, and to march with his face towards the rising sun. He prepared to comply with his advice; but the marshiness of the soil rendered his design impracticable; and he was thus reluctantly compelled to enter the city by the forbidden road.

During his short stay at Babylon, his mind was disturbed by superstitious fears\*, awakened by the intrigues of Apollodorus, or the artifices of the Chaldæans, and confirmed by a circumstance well fitted to operate on a disordered fancy. In his Indian expedition, he had conversed with the Gymnosophists, or Brachmans, men who practised the philosophy which Plato taught, and whose contempt, for the pomp and pleasures of the present life, was founded on the firm belief of a better and more permanent state of existence. To those sages,

His short stay in this city disturbed by superstitious fears. Tenets of the Indian Brachmans.

\* He became, says Plutarch, *degenere* *propter* *hanc* *causam*.  
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CHAP. the fortunate ambition of Alexander appeared as  
 XXXIX. object of derision or pity. At sight of the conqueror, they stamped their feet with vehemence on the ground; indicating, by an expressive action, more eloquent than words, that he, whose name now filled the world, must soon be confined within the narrow grave. The flatterers of the king rebuked them for insulting the son of Jupiter, who had the power to reward or punish them. They replied, by saying, "That all were the sons of Jupiter; that the rewards of Alexander they disdained, and set at defiance his punishments, which at last could only relieve them from the load of frail mortality." Yet Calanus, one of their number, attracted by curiosity, or irresistibly captivated by the soothing condescension of the king, agreed to accompany him; for which inconstancy he was much blamed by his brethren. Alexander treated this eastern sage with great respect, and when Calanus, who had passed his seventy-second year without experiencing any bodily infirmity, fell sick in Persia, the affectionate prince earnestly entreated him not to anticipate fate by a voluntary death. But finding him inflexibly bent on this purpose, he allowed a pyre to be constructed, to which the Indian (being too feeble to walk or ride on horse-back) was conveyed in a litter. In sight of the Macedonian army, who had been ordered to assist at this awful solemnity, Calanus composed himself decently on the pyre; the music struck up; the soldiers raised a shout of war; and the Indian,

Prophecy  
 and the  
 of Calanus

with a serene countenance, expired amidst the flames, singing a hymn to the Gods of his country\*.

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The curiosity of Alexander was unbounded; but his humanity, likewise was great. This principle, which is too often a stranger to the breast of conquerors, made him decline witnessing the extraordinary death of a friend, who, for his sake, had abandoned his native land. But, before Calanus was carried to the funeral pile, the king affectionately paid him the last visit. Calanus having embraced all present, refused to take leave of Alexander, saying that "he should again see him in Babylon." The words of a dying man were considered by the Greeks as prophetic. Those of Calanus sunk deep into the mind of Alexander; and the painful impression which they had made hastened his departure from a city, in which so many concurring circumstances forbade him to reside†.

His superstitious terrors, however, seem to have been diverted by the voyage down the Euphrates, and by directing the improvements in the canal of Pallacopas. Having resumed his courage, he ventured to return to Babylon, gave audience to some Grecian ambassadors, who presented him with golden crowns from the submissive flattery of their several republics; and having reviewed his troops and gallees, prepared to execute the enterprises which he had so long meditated. But his designs and his life were now drawing to a close. Whether to conquer his melancholy, or to triumph in the victory which he had already gained over it, he

Death of  
Alexander  
at Babylon  
Olymp.  
cxiv. 1.  
A. C. 324.  
May 28th.

\* Arrian, l. vii. c. 3.

† Ibid. c. 18.

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indulged, without moderation, in that banqueting and festivity to which, after the fatigues of war, he had often shewn himself too much addicted; and a fever, occasioned, or at least increased, by an excessive abuse of wine, the vice of his nation and of his family, put a period to his life in the thirty-third year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign. After the first days of the disorder, he had been conveyed to the cool verdure of a beautiful garden; but the malady increasing, he was soon brought back to the palace. The last remains of strength he spent in assistance at daily sacrifices to the gods. During his illness he spoke but little, and that only concerning his intended expeditions. The temples were crowded by his friends; the generals waited in the hall; the soldiers surrounded the gates. Such was the grief of many, and the respectful admiration of all, that none ventured to announce to him his approaching dissolution, none ventured to demand his last orders. When all hopes of recovery had vanished, his favourite troops were admitted to behold him. He was speechless, but had still strength to stretch forth his hand\*.

\* Arrian says, that many reports were spread concerning the death of Alexander, such as, that he had been poisoned by the emissaries of Antipater, whom, as mentioned above in the text, he had recently deprived of the government of Greece and Macedon; that when asked to whom he bequeathed the empire, he had answered, to the "strongest;" and that he had foretold his obsequies would be celebrated by bloody wars among his lieutenants. But these rumours receive not the least countenance from the royal diary, which seems to have been carefully copied by Arrian, nor from the histories of Ptolemy and Aristobulus.

Such was the reign of Alexander, whose character, being unexampled and inimitable, can only be fully drawn by relating his actions. He was of a low stature, and somewhat deformed; but the activity and elevation of his mind animated and ennobled his frame. By a life of continual labour, and by an early and habitual practice of the gymnastic exercises, he had hardened his body against the impressions of cold and heat, hunger and thirst\*, and prepared his robust constitution for bearing such exertions of strength and activity, as have appeared incredible to the undisciplined softness of modern times. In generosity and in prowess, he rivalled the greatest heroes of antiquity; and in the race of glory, having finally outstripped all competitors, became ambitious to surpass himself. His superior skill in war gave uninterrupted success to his arms; and his natural humanity, enlightened by the philosophy of Greece, taught him to improve his conquests to the best interests of mankind†. In his extensive dominions,

CHAR.  
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His character.

\* Plut. Orat. i. & ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

† Plutarch says, the nations conquered by Alexander might adopt the language of Themistocles, when, in consequence of his banishment from Greece, he was raised to great wealth and honour in Asia. "Ὁ παῖδες πταλομένης, ἢ μὴ πταλομένης." "O my children! we should have been undone, had we not been undone." In the same manner, those nations, had they not been vanquished by Alexander, had not been civilised, Egypt would not boast her Alexandria; Mesopotamia, her Seleucia, &c. And again, "Alexander taught marriage to the Hyrcanians, and agriculture to the Arachosii. He taught the Sogdians to maintain, and not to kill, their parents; the Persians to respect, and not to marry, their mothers; the Scythians to bury, and not to eat, their dead." Plut. *Ibid.*

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he built, or founded, not less than seventy cities\*, the situation of which being chosen with consummate wisdom, tended to facilitate communication, to promote commerce, and to diffuse civility through the greatest nations of the earth†. It may be suspected, indeed; that he mistook the extent of human power when, in the course of one reign, he hoped to change the face of the world; and that he miscalculated the stubbornness of ignorance, and the force of habit, when he attempted to enlighten barbarism, to soften servitude, and to transplant the improvements of Greece into an African and Asiatic soil, where they have never been known to flourish. Yet, let not the design of Alexander be too hastily accused of extravagance. Whoever seriously considers what he actually performed before his thirty-third year, will be cautious of determining what he might have accomplished, had he reached the ordinary term of human life. His resources were peculiar to himself; and such views, as well as actions, became him, as would have become none besides. In the language of a philosophical historian, “he seems to have been given to the world by a peculiar dispensation of providence, being a man like to none other of the human kind‡.”

\* Vid. Plut. de Fortun. Alexand. Tom. ii. p. 327. In the language of Plutarch, he sowed Asia with Greek cities.

† Plut. *ibid.* Diodor. Sicul. xvii. 83. Stephen Byzant. in voc. *Αλεξάνδρεια*.

‡ Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἴσθαι θέλω οὐκ ὅπως αὐτὸν δόξαι ἀλλὰ ἀποδεικνύειν αὐτὸν. Arrian, p. 168. How far he was an instrument in the hands of

From the part which his father Philip and him-  
self acted in the affairs of Greece, his history has  
been transmitted through the impure channels of  
exaggerated flattery or malignant envy. The in-  
numerable fictions, which disgrace the works of  
his biographers, are contradicted by the most au-  
thentic accounts of his reign, and inconsistent with  
those public transactions, which concurring author-  
ities confirm. In the present work, it seemed  
unnecessary to expatiate on such topics, since it  
is less the business of history to repeat, or even to  
expose errors, than to select and impress useful  
truths. An author, ambitious of attaining that  
purpose, can seldom indulge the language of ge-  
neral panegyric. He will acknowledge that Alex-  
ander's actions were not always blameless;  
but, after the most careful examination, he will  
affirm, that his faults were few in number, and  
resulted from his situation, rather than from his  
character.

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The faults  
or crimes  
of which  
he is ac-  
cused

From the first year of his reign, he experienced  
the crimes of disaffection and treachery, which  
multiplied, and became more dangerous, with the  
extent of his dominions, and the difficulty to go-  
vern them. Several of his lieutenants early aspired  
at independence; others formed conspiracies against  
the life of their master. The first criminals were  
treated, as we have already seen, with a lenity  
becoming the generous spirit of Alexander. But

resulted  
from his  
situation  
rather  
than from  
his cha-  
racter

Divine Providence, belongs not to the subject of prophane history to in-  
quire. On this subject, the reader may see Bishop Lowth on Isaiah,  
xix. 18. and xxiv. 14.



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Olymp

cxii 4.

A. C. 329.

when Philotas, the son of Parmenio, and even Parmenio\* himself, afforded reason to suspect their fidelity; when the Macedonian youths, who, according to the institution of Philip, guarded the royal pavilion, prepared to murder their sovereign,

\* Philotas was punished in the country of the Arni; Parmenio was put to death in Media. Curtius (l. vi. c. vii. & seq.), who has given the fullest account of these executions, says, that Philotas deserved not the compassion of his friends: "Amicorum misericordiam non meruit." He leaves it uncertain whether Parmenio fell a sacrifice to his own treason, or to the policy of Alexander. Arrian thinks that the death of Parmenio was necessary to his master's safety.—Although the evidence of this general's guilt has not been handed down to posterity, Alexander, it is certain, belittled him guilty. He who disdained to combat his enemies by deceit, cannot, without proof, be supposed capable of treacherously assassinating his friends.

† This conspiracy is related by Arrian, l. ix. c. xiii. and xiv. The scene was Bactra, or Zariaspa, the capital of Bactria. At a hunting-match, the King, being ready to kill a boar, was attacked by Hermolaus. To punish the insolence of the youth, Alexander ordered him to be whipped. The disgrace seemed intolerable to Hermolaus and his companions; a conspiracy was formed to destroy Alexander in his sleep. It was discovered by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. The youths, confessed their guilt, and declared that they had been confirmed in their purpose by Callisthenes, the scholar of Aristotle, an arrogant and morose man, who, sheltered by the cloak of philosophy, insolently brow-beat the prince, whom he was bound to respect (Arrian, p. 271). The conspirators were stoned to death; a punishment common in that age, when persons accused were tried before numerous assemblies, whose indignation frequently burst forth and destroyed atrocious offenders on the spot, with the first instruments of death that chance offered, to their hands. Callisthenes was dragged round the army in chains. Such is the best authenticated account of this affair, concerning which the variations of ancient writers are innumerable. Vid. Arrian, l. ix. c. xiv. Curtius, l. viii. c. viii. Seneca Suasor, i. Justin, l. xv. c. xl. Philostratus, l. viii. c. i. Diodor. Sicul. pp. 356 & 358. Diogen. Laert. in Aristot. Suidas, sq. yoc. As an example of the injustice done

he found it necessary to depart from his lenient system, and to hold with a firmer hand the reins of government. Elated by unexampled prosperity; and the submissive reverence of vanquished nations, his loftiness disgusted the pride of his European troops, particularly the Macedonian nobles, who had been accustomed to regard themselves rather as his companions than subjects. The pretensions which sound policy taught him to form and to maintain, of being treated with those external honours ever claimed by the monarchs of the East, highly offended the religious prejudices of the Greeks, who deemed it impious to prostrate the body, or bend the knee, to any mortal sovereign. Yet had he remitted formalities consecrated by the practice of ages, he must insensibly have lost the respect of his Asiatic subjects. With a view to reconcile the

the character of Alexander, I shall insert the passage of Seneca: "*Hoc est Alexandri crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet. Nam quoties quis dixerit, Occidit Persarum multa millia; opponitur, et Callisthenem. Quoties dictum erit, omnia oceano tenus vicit, ipsam quoque tentavit novis classibus, & imperium ex angulo Thraciæ usque ad orientis terminos protulit; dicetur, sed Callisthenem occidit.*" Yet this Callisthenes was a traitor, whose writings are mentioned with contempt by Arrian, *loc. citat.* Polybius, t. ii. pp. 64. 335. & t. iii. p. 45. Cicero ad Quint. Frat. l. ii. epist. xiii. & Longinus, c. iii. p. 14. The patriotism of the Greeks and the envy of the Romans, could never forgive the transcendent glory of Alexander, which eclipsed their own. In speaking of Philip and his son, even Cicero (*de Offic.*) says "*Alter semper magnus, alter sæpe turpissimus.*" See likewise Livy, l. ix. c. xviii. The last-mentioned writer (l. ix. c. xvii.) goes out of his way to allege very inconclusive arguments for believing that had Alexander turned his arms against Italy, he would certainly have been conquered by the Romans.

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discordant principles of the victors and vanquished; he affected an immediate descent from Jupiter Ammon, a claim liberally admitted by the avarice or fears of the Libyan priests, and which he had reason to expect, could not be very obstinately denied by the credulity of the Greeks and Macedonians, who universally acknowledged that Philip, his reputed father, was remotely descended from the Grecian Jupiter. But the success of this design, which might have entitled him, as son of Jupiter, to the same obeisance from the Greeks, which the Barbarians readily paid him as monarch of the East, was counteracted, at first by the secret displeasure, and afterwards by the open indignation, of several of his generals and courtiers. Nor did the conduct of Alexander tend to extricate him from this difficulty. With his friends, he maintained that equal intercourse of visits and entertainments, which characterised the Macedonian manners; indulged the liberal flow of unguarded conversation; and often exceeded that intemperance in wine, which disgraced his age and country.

Murder of
Clitus.
Olymp.
cxlii. 1

A

28.

On such occasions his guests, or entertainers, enjoyed and abused the indecent familiarity to which they had been accustomed with their Kings; but which the temper of Alexander, corrupted by prosperity and flattery, was no longer able to tolerate. A scene of drunken debauchery, which must appear highly disgusting to the propriety of modern manners; proved fatal to Clitus, who, emboldened by wine, daringly insulted his prince, vilified his noblest actions, and derided his pretensions



to dignity. The King, being likewise intoxicated, was no longer master of himself, when Clitus, who had been once banished from his presence, returned a second time to the charge, and behaved more insolently than before. In an unhappy moment, Alexander thrust a spear into the breast of his friend; but instantly repenting his fury, would have destroyed himself by the same weapon, had he not been prevented by his attendants. The bitterness of his repentance, and the pungency of his remorse, which neither flattery could soften, nor sophistry appease, rendered his life burdensome, and his actions inconsistent. At times, he assumed the Persian dress and ornaments; displayed the pomp of Oriental despotism; employed, and often preferred, the Barbarians; and in several passages of his reign, this successful, but unhappy, conqueror appears to have been beset with flatterers, surrounded by conspirators, adored by the

* Montesquieu, (who Voltaire only excepted) is the most distinguished modern apologist of Alexander, says, "Il fit de ses mauvaises actions: il brula Persepolis & tua Clitus," (*Esprit des Loix*, l. x. c. xvi.) The story of the burning of Persepolis we have already refuted. The death of Clitus, Aristobulus, cited by Arrian, ascribes entirely to the insolence and folly of Clitus himself, and totally exculpates Alexander. But Arrian observes, like a philosopher, that Alexander was justly blamable in allowing himself to be overcome by drunkenness and anger. Arrian, p. 84.

† Agis, an Argive poet, and Anaxarchus the Sophist, endeavoured to cure his melancholy. The latter told him, that Justice was described by the ancients as seated near the throne of Jupiter, to indicate that right and wrong depended on the will of kings, all whose actions ought to be held just by themselves and others. This flagitious serving Africa spurs with indignation, and brands with infamy. Arrian, p. 84.

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Difficulties of Alexander's situation, and the magnanimity by which he overcame them.

passive submission of his eastern subjects, and insulted by the licentious petulance of the Greeks and Macedonians.

The indignation or jealousy of the latter tinged the fairest of his actions with dark and odious colours. About a year before his death, a scene was transacted at Opis on the Tigris, which shew'd the difficulties of his situation, and the magnanimity by which he overcame them. Having assembled the Macedonian troops, he declared to them his pleasure, that such as felt themselves unable, through age or infirmities, to undergo the fatigues of war, should be honourably discharged from the service, and safely conducted to their respective provinces. This proposal, which ought to have been accepted with gratitude, was heard with anger. The soldiers reflected, that the army had recently increased by an accession of thirty thousand Barbarians, armed and accoutred after the European fashion, trained to the Grecian discipline and exercises, and instructed in the arts and language of the victors. The King, they thought, no longer cared for the service of his veterans, and therefore dismissed them with contempt. The spirit of sedition seized the camp; the Macedonians unanimously demanded their discharge; some adding with scoffs, "That he had no farther use for them; his father Ammon could fight his battles." At these words, the King sprung from the tribunal on which he sat, and commanded the most audacious to be seized by his targeteers, and conducted to immediate execution. This prompt se-

verity appeared the rising tumult. The soldiers C H A P.
 remained motionless and silent, doubtful or terri- XXXIX.
 fied. Alexander again mounted the tribunal, and
 spoke as follows: "It is not my wish, Macedo- His own
 nians, to change your resolution: Return home, account
 without hindrance from me: But, before leaving of the
 the camp, first learn to know your King and your- reign of
 selves. My father Philip (for with him it is ever Philip and
 fit to begin) found you, at his arrival in Macedon, himself.
 miserable and hopeless fugitives; covered with
 skins of sheep; feeding among the mountains some
 wretched herds which you had neither strength
 nor courage to defend against the Thracians, Illy-
 rians, and Triballi. Having repelled the ravagers
 of your country, he brought you from the moun-
 tains to the plain, and taught you to confide, not
 in your fastnesses, but in your valour. By his
 wisdom and discipline, he trained you to arts and
 civility, enriched you with mines of gold, in-
 structed you in navigation and commerce, and ren-
 dered you a terror to those nations, at whose names
 you used to tremble. Need I mention his conquests
 in Upper Thrace, or those still more valuable in
 the maritime provinces of that country? Having
 opened the gates of Greece, he chastised the Pho-
 cians, reduced the Thessalians, and, while I shared
 the command, defeated and humbled the Athe-
 nians and Thebans, eternal foes to Macedon, to
 whom you had been successively tributaries, sub-
 jects, and slaves. But my father rendered you
 their masters; and having entered the Peloponne-
 sus, and regulated at discretion the affairs of that

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peninsula, he was appointed, by universal consent, general of combined Greece: an appointment not more honourable to himself, than glorious for his country. At my accession to the throne, I found a debt of five hundred talents, and scarcely sixty in the treasury. I contracted a fresh debt of eight hundred; and conducting you from Macedonia, whose boundaries seemed unworthy to confine you, safely crossed the Hellespont, though the Persian fleet commanded the sea. By one victory, we gained Ionia, Æolia, both Phrygias, and Lydia. By our courage and activity, the provinces of Cilicia and Syria, the strength of Palestine, the antiquity of Egypt, and the renown of Persia were added to your empire. Yours, now, are Bactra and Arta, the productions of India, the fertility of Assyria, the wealth of Susa, and the wonders of Babylon. You are generals, princes, satraps. What have I reserved for myself, but this purple and diadem, which mark my pre-eminence in toil and danger! Where are my private treasures? Or why should I collect them? Are my pleasures expensive? You know that I fare worse than any of yourselves; and have in nothing spared my person. Let him who dares, compare with me. Let him bare his breast, and I will bare mine. My body, this bare part of my body, is covered with honourable wounds from every sort of weapon. I often watch,

It appears from Arrian, that Alexander speaks of these as issues from the military fund, and other revenues, employed in paying and forwarding his troops, and in executing such public designs as seemed conducive to the prosperity of the empire.


that you may repose safely ; and, to testify my unremitting attention to your happiness, had determined to send home the aged and infirm among you, loaded with wealth and honour. But since you are all desirous to leave me, Go! Report to your countrymen, that, unmindful of the signal bounty of your King, you entrusted him to the vanquished Barbarians. The report, doubtless, will bespeak your gratitude and piety*."

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Having thus said, he sprang from the tribunal, and hastened to the palace, accompanied only by his guards. During two days, none were admitted to his presence. On the third, he called the Persian nobles of distinction, and distributed among them the principal departments of military command. He then issued orders, that certain bodies of the Barbarian infantry and cavalry should be called the royal battalion, and royal cohort, and by such other names as commanded greatest respect. Apprised of these innovations, the Macedonians, who had long remained in confusion before the tribunal, afraid to follow Alexander, and afraid to allow his retiring unattended, flocked around the palace, and deposited their arms at the gate, humbly requesting to see their King, and declaring that they would never stir from the place, till their tears had moved his compassion. Alexander came forth, beheld their abasement, and wept. The affecting silence, marked by alternate emotions of repentance and reconciliation, was at length broke by Callines, a man highly esteemed

Affecting
scene at
Opis on
the Tigris.
Olymp.
cxliii 4.
A. C. 325.

* Arrian, p. 162, & seqq.

CHAP. in the cavalry. Thy Macedonians; O King are
 XXXIX/  grieved that the Persians alone should be called
 thy kindred, and entitled as such to embrace thee,
 while none of themselves are allowed to taste that
 honour.* Alexander replied, in From this mo-
 ment you are all my kindred. Calanes then
 stepped forward and embraced him; and several
 others having followed the example, they all took
 up their arms, and returned to the camp with
 shouts of joy, and songs.

A festival
 celebrated
 in common
 by the
 Macedoni-
 ans and
 Persians.

Of all men (if we believe the concurring testi-
 mony of his historians) Alexander was the most
 mindful of his duty to the gods. To thank heaven
 for the happy issue of this transaction, he celebrated
 a solemn sacrifice; and, after the sacrifice, an en-
 tertainment for the principal of his European and
 Asiatic subjects. The Macedonians were next to
 his person; the Persians next the Macedonians; the
 Grecian priests and Persian maji joined in common
 libations, invoking perpetual concord, and eternal
 union of empire, to the Macedonians and Per-
 sians. Soon afterwards, the invalids, whose dis-
 mission had produced the mutiny, gladly returned
 home. Alexander discharged their arrears, al-
 lowed them full pay until their arrival in Macedonia,
 and granted each soldier a gratuity of two hundred
 pounds sterling. He again shed tears at parting
 with upwards of ten thousand men, who had served
 him in so many glorious campaigns; and, as a tes-
 timony of his affectionate concern for their safety,

* Arrian says, "while none of themselves ever tasted that
 honour." *Macedonum vero nec pergratū saepe accipimus.* Arrian, p. 154.

appointed Crates, whom he loved as his own son, to be their conductor.

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Such was the life of this extraordinary man, whose genius might have changed and improved the state of the ancient world. But the spirit of improvement is transient, and demands perpetual efforts; the sources of degeneracy are permanent and innumerable. It seems at first sight to be regretted, that by neglecting to provide for the succession to his throne, he left the field open for those bloody wars among his captains, which long desolated the earth. Yet the difficulties, with which he was himself obliged to struggle, might teach him the impossibility of securing the empire for the infancy of his son Hercules, or the weakness of his brother Arridæus. The principles of royal succession were never accurately ascertained in Macedon; and the camp of a conqueror could not be expected to prove a good school of moderation or justice. The first measure adopted by his generals was, to set aside the natural claim of Hercules, born of the daughter of Darius, and to appoint Arridæus, together with the fruit of Roxana's pregnancy, if she brought forth a son, to be joint heirs of the monarchy. This whimsical destination announced little union or stability. Perdicas, in virtue of possessing the ring or seal of his deceased master, assumed the regency: the troops and provinces were divided among Antigonus, Ptolemy, Craterus and other chiefs, who, having been formerly the equals, disdained to remain the inferiors, of

Division of Alexander's conquests.

* Arrian, p. 155.

CHAP. XXXIX. Ptolemaea: Each general trusted to his sword for an independent establishment; new troops were raised and disciplined; leagues formed and broken; the children and relations of Alexander, who became successively prisoners in different hands, all perished miserably; nor was there any cessation of crimes and calamities, or any permanent settlement of the provinces, until the battles of Ipsus in Phrygia confirmed Ptolemy in the possession of Egypt, and Seleucus in that of Upper Asia. The issue of the same battle gave Macedonia and Greece to Cassander, and Thracia with several provinces of Lower Asia, to Lysimachus. The great kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, which continued thenceforward, till subdued by the Romans, to be governed by the respective families of Seleucus and Ptolemy, never generally adopted

Subsequent history of Egypt and Syria.

* Diodor. Sicul. xix. & xx. passim.

† Arrian, pp. 160 & 164.

‡ Yet among the higher ranks of men, the Greek language continually gained ground before the Christian era. It was spoken by Jews, Romans, and Africans. It was the language of the learned and polite in Egypt and Syria as well as in Italy and Carthage. It must have been understood by all ranks of men in Judea, since the inspired writers employed it in propagating the gospel, which was the first preached to the Jews. For this universality, the Greek seems to have been indebted, 1. To the innumerable Greek colonies in Europe, Asia, and Africa. 2. To the conquests of Alexander, whose armies and garrisons were continually reinforced from Greece. 3. To the social and agreeable character of the Greeks. 4. To the excellence of the language itself (see above, chapters v. and vi.) whose duration is as wonderful as its extent. The Greek was spoken in the middle of the fifteenth century, when Constantinople was taken by the Turks; so that, from the time of Homer, it subsisted with little variation, as a living tongue, for two thousand and four hundred years.

the language or manners of their Grecian sovereigns. In Egypt, the first successors of Alexander carried into that country the commercial improvements planned by that prince; and the Kings both of Egypt and of Syria affected, in their magnificent courts, to join the arts and elegance of Greece to the pomp and luxury of the East. But their ostentation is far more prominent than their taste; their liberal characters were effaced by the continual contact of servitude; they sunk into the softness and insignificance of hereditary despots, whose reigns are neither busy nor instructive; nor could the intrigues of women and eunuchs, or ministers equally effeminate, form in themselves a subject sufficiently interesting to succeed the memorable transactions of the Grecian republics.

In the history of these kingdoms, the most important event is their conquest by the Romans, who gradually seized all the western spoils of the empire of Alexander, comprehended between the Euphrates and the Hadriatic sea, and successively reduced them into the form of provinces. Greece, which came to be distinguished by the name of Achaia, imparted its literature, its arts* and its vices, to Italy. The conquest of Macedon freed Rome from the weight of taxes. The acquisition

The western division of Alexander's empire conquered by the Romans.

* Notwithstanding the degeneracy of the Greeks under the Macedonian and Roman governments, their country, and particularly Athens, was long regarded as the principal seat of arts and philosophy. But the Greek artists, as well as poets, orators, historians, and philosophers, of later times, were mere imitators, who fell infinitely short of the merit and fame of the great originals. The works of Phidias and Apelles, of Sophocles, Demosthenes, Plato, &c. not those of the Greeks their own contemporaries, were the objects of admiration to Cicero and Seneca, to the writers of the Augustan age, to Pliny, Tacitus, &c. But of this, more in the next chapter.

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of Syria doubled the revenues of that republic. The subjugation of Egypt doubled the price of commodities in Italy. Yet whatever might be the wealth* of those nations, they have not acquired much fame with posterity; since, amidst all their external advantages, they are not distinguished by any invention that improved the practice of war or greatly increased the enjoyments of peace.†

State of
Greece af-
ter the
age of
Alexan-
der.

The feeble mixture of Grecian colonisation diffused through the East, was sufficient to tinge, but too inconsiderable to alter and assimilate, the vast mass of barbarism. But as the principle of degeneracy is often stronger than that of improvement, the sloth and servility of Asia gradually crept into Greece. That unfortunate country, drained of its most enterprising inhabitants, who either followed the standard, or opposed the arms, of Alexander, was equally insulted by the severity and the indulgence of his successors; since, in either case, the Greeks felt and acknowledged their dependence. Reluctantly compelled to submit to a master, they lost that elevation of character, and that enthusiasm of valour, which had been produced by freedom, nourished by victory, and confirmed by the just sense of national pre-eminence. Their domestic dissensions, by carrying them in great numbers into the service of foreign princes, thereby diffused the knowledge of their

* Of which see an account extracted from the public registers, in Appian. Alexand. in Proem.

† For the history of arts and sciences under the Ptolemies, see History of the World from Alexander to Augustus, c. viii. c. xi. and vol. ii. c. xvi. & c. xlv.

tactics and discipline, through countries far more extensive and populous than their own; and amidst all their personal animosities, the Captains of Alexander, uniformly embracing the maxims of despotism which their master magnanimously disdained, firmly and unitedly resisted and crushed the rising rebellions of the Greeks, whose feeble and ill-conducted efforts for regaining their liberty, only plunged them the deeper into servitude. Destitute of immediate and important objects to rouse their activity, the example of their ancestors at length ceased to animate and inspire them. The rewards of merit being withdrawn, men no longer aspired at excellence. The spirit of patriotism evaporated; the fire of genius was extinguished; exertion perished with hope; and, exclusively of the Achæan League*, the unfortunate issue of which I had occasion before to mention, Greece from the age of Alexander, offers not any series of transactions highly memorable in the history of arts or arms.

* Polybius treats the Achæan league, and other collateral transactions of the Greeks and Macedonians, as episodes in his Roman history in forty books, of which only five have come down to us. Other writers, whose works are entirely lost, considered the Greek affairs as principal, and interwove with them those of the Romans, Jews, Parthians and Carthaginians. See my History of the World from Alexander to Augustus.

† See vol. ii. p. 15.

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State of Literature in the Age of Alexander. — Poetry. — Music. — Arts of Design. — Geography. — Astronomy. — Natural History. — Works of Aristotle. — Philosophical Sects established at Athens. — Decline of Genius. — Tenets of the different Sects. — Peripatetic Philosophy. — Estimate of that Philosophy. — Its Fate in the World. — Coincidence in the Opinions of Zeno and Epicurus. — The Stoic Philosophy. — Estimate of that Philosophy. — The Epicurean Philosophy. — Character of Epicurus. — Philosophy of Pyrrho. — Conclusion.

CHAP.

XL.

State of
Literature
in the age
of Alex-
ander.

IN the latter years of Alexander, literature, philosophy, and the fine arts, displayed their brightest charms; yet the source of that health and vigour, from which their beauty flowed, had already begun to fail. The military expeditions of this matchless conqueror were described, and published after his death, in the authentic and interesting narratives of Ptolemy and Aristobulus*, who had been the witnesses and companions of his victories. But his extraordinary exploits, and unexampled success, which far eclipsed the imaginary renown of the fabled heroes of antiquity, produced even in his lifetime, a crowd of writers, whose credulity, and love of the marvellous, could only be exceeded by their mean adulation, and servile su-

* Arrian, in Proem;

perstition*. Exaggeration in matters of fact produced that swelling amplification of style, those meretricious ornaments and affected graces, which characterised the puerile and frigid compositions of Callisthenes, Clitarchus, Onesicritus, and Hegesias†. The false taste of these rash innovators, to whose perverse industry must be ascribed the ridiculous trappings which have too long disfigured the august form of Alexander, was admired and imitated by many contemporary historians. The contagion infected even the orators; and it is worthy of observation, that the verbose emptiness and bombast of the Asiatic eloquence, was first introduced into Greece in the age which had applauded the chaste and nervous compositions of Lycurgus, Hyperides, Æschines, and Demosthenes‡. So true it is, that in every country where the human genius has attained its highest point of perfection, a principle of degeneracy naturally carries things in a contrary direction; because those, who are incapable of excellence, still covet distinction, and, despairing to surpass their predecessors in the beauties of truth and nature, vainly solicit praise by false conceits and artificial refinements, by empty exaggerations and boastful loquacity.

Under the Macedonian government, Greece produced not any original genius in the serious

* Lucian. de Scribend. Histor.

† Strabo, l. xiv. 648. Conf. Polybius, l. xxi. c. 37.

‡ Dionys. Halicarn. de Strupua Oration. Longinus de Sublim. Cicero de Orator. & de Clar. Orator. passim.

CHAP.
XL.
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CHAPTER

XL



Improve-
ment of
comedy.

kinds of poetry. The tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides still kept possession of the theatre. But no lyric, no epic poet appeared, qualified to adorn the exploits of Alexander, though that prince, intoxicated with the love of fame, munificently rewarded the ignoble flattery of Agis, Cleon, Charilus, and other contemptible encomiasts, who corrupted his heart, without vitiating his judgment, since he declared, that he would rather be the Thersites of Homer, than the Achilles of Chærilus*. Yet in the same age Philemon, Antiphanes†, Lycon‡, above all the Athenian Menander, carried comedy to the highest perfection which it ever attained in any nation of antiquity. During the republican form of government, the institutions and character of the Greeks were unfavourable to the best improvement of this species of writing. The licentious turbulence of democracy generally converted their attempts at wit and humour into petulance and buffoonery. The change of government and manners, requiring due respect to the rules of propriety and the dictates of caution, improved their discernment, and gradually made them sensible to that refined ridicule, where more is meant than said, and to those more interesting, because juster, delineations of character, which distinguished the comic strains of Philemon and Menander||.

* Acro ad Horat Art Poet. v. 837. Curtius, l. viii. c. v.

† Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 555.

‡ Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

|| Vid. Plut. Comp. Aristoph. & Menand.

Alexander, during his early youth, took delight in dramatic entertainments. Thessalus was his favourite actor, but Athenadorus was more approved by the public. To Athenadorus, the magistrates, who, according to ancient custom, were appointed to decide the pretensions between rivals for theatrical fame, adjudged the prize of merit. The young hero declared, that this decision gave him more pain than he would have felt at the loss of his inheritance*. The musicians Timotheus† and Antigenides‡ still displayed the wonderful powers of their art; but as the severity of education and manners continually relaxed in all parts of Greece, it was observed that music, originally destined to purify and exalt the mind, was in later times universally employed to seduce and inflame the passions||.

CHAP.
XL
Music

The arts of design, painting, sculpture, and architecture, appeared in their highest lustre in the age of Philip and Alexander, both which princes had no less taste to judge, than munificence to promote them. The eastern expedition of Alexander introduced, or at least greatly multiplied in Greece, those precious and durable gems, which thenceforth exhibited some of the finest specimens of Grecian ingenuity. The skill and taste of Py-

Arts of design.

* Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

† Hephæst. de Metr.

‡ Plut. Orat. de Fortun. Alexand.

§ Aristot. Politic. l. viii c. vi.

|| Judicium subtile videndis artibus. Hor. Ep. l. ii. Ep. l. v. 242.

C. H. A. P.

XL.

Lysippus.

Apelles
and other
contempo-
rary
artists.

goteles were distinguished in this valuable, though minute art*. He enjoyed the exultation of representing the figure of Alexander on horseback, as did Lysippus of casting it in bronze, and Apelles of exhibiting it in colours†. Lysippus was justly admired for bringing back the art to a closer study, and nearer imitation, of nature, without yielding to his predecessors in ideal beauty‡. We have already mentioned his twenty-one equestrian statues of the Macedonian guards, slain in the battle of the Granicus. He is said to have made six hundred and ten figures in bronze§; a number which, if not greatly exaggerated, would prove his facility of working to have far surpassed that of all statuary; ancient or modern. The numerous list of painters, contemporary with Apelles, indicates an extraordinary demand for their art; since no profession, that is not gainful, will ever be very generally followed¶. The most celebrated of these artists were Amphion and Asclepiodorus, whom Apelles acknowledged as his superiors in some points of composition; Aristides the Thracian, who was inimitable in expression** and Protogenes of Rhodes, whom Aristotle exhorted, to

* Plin. l. vi. c. xxxvii. & Plutarch. in Alexand.

† Vid. Plin. edit. Berolin. l. 221. tit. 217—228.

‡ Plin. lib. iii. 104, & seqq.

§ The sieur Falconet, who made the famous statue of Peter the Great, thinks the thing impossible, and gives a different meaning to the words of Pliny. See his observations on the passage, in his translation of the books of Pliny relative to the arts. Vol. ii. Lausanne.

¶ Plin. lib. iii. 222.

¶ Idem, lib. iii. 226.

** Idem, lib. iii. 225.

paint the exploits of Alexander on account of the surpassing dignity of the subject. The inferior branches of the art, if not first cultivated in that age, were then carried to perfection. Pyreicust confined himself to subjects of low life, and Antiphilus to caricatures, which the Greeks called Grylli. The theory and practice of painting were explained in many works, the loss of which is much to be regretted.

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XL.

Amidst the great multitude of artists, and writers on art, all acknowledged the pre-eminence of Apelles, whose works were innumerable, and each sufficient to establish his renown. His picture of Alexander grasping a thunderbolt, was sold to the temple of Ephesian Diana for four thousand pounds. His Venus Anadyomené was damaged by accident; none would venture to restore the parts that had been effaced; so that the injury of the picture contributed to the glory of the artist. The model of this Venus was the beautiful Campaspé, the favourite mistress of Alexander. The sensibility of Apelles was too deeply penetrated with the charms which he so successfully expressed. Alexander was no sooner acquainted with his passion, than, in the language of Pliny, he made him a present, not only of Campaspé, but of his own affection, too little respecting the feelings of the beloved object, at her degradation

Works of Apelles.

* "Propter eternitatem rerum." Plin. *ibid.*

† Plin. *iii.* 226.

‡ Idem, *iii.* 229.

§ Idem, *ibid.*

§ Plin. *iii.* 229, & seqq.

CHAP XL in passing from the bed of a king into that of a painter. Yet this celebrated artist, who enjoyed other striking proofs of his master's partiality and friendship, lived on good terms with his brethren. With the frankness of his age and nation, he assumed the merit which belonged to him, and freely asserted, that none of his competitors could imitate the gracefulness of his attitudes and figures. But in some other branches of the art, he acknowledged his inferiority to several of his contemporaries. The desire of seeing the works of Protogenes carried him to Rhodes. He there found a rival not altogether unworthy to alarm his jealousy. But instead of yielding to the dictates of this miserable passion, he drew Protogenes from obscurity; raised the price of his pictures; and taught the Rhodians, who undervalued the same talents in their fellow citizen which they admired in a stranger, to acknowledge and respect his merit.

Decline of
the arts
after the
death of
Alexander.

Soon after the death of Alexander, painting and the kindred arts ceased.† By this expression, Pliny means not, that they ceased to be cultivated, but to make farther progress; since neither the scholars of Apelles and Lysippus, nor those who came after them, were able to reach the glory of their predecessors. The Greek kings of Egypt and Syria should seem to have bent their attention rather

* "Decesse iis unam Venerem dicebat quam Græci charita vocant, cetera omnia contigisse; sed hæc solâ sibi neminem parem." Plin. l. ii. 222, & seqq.

† Plin. ibid.

‡ "Cessavit deinde ars." Plin. ibid.

to literature) than to the arts. But, in both, the schools of Alexandria and Seleucia never aspired beyond the humble merit of imperfectly imitating those of Greece. In proportion to its neighbourhood to that country, the arts took firmer root in Alexandria than in Seleucia; and, from the same circumstance, they are said to have flourished longer and more abundantly in the little principalities of Pergamus and Bithynia, than in the wealthy kingdoms of Syria and Egypt.*

The expedition of Alexander contributed to the improvement of the sciences, both natural and moral. His marches were carefully measured by Diogenes and Beton. Other geometers were employed to survey the more remote parts of the countries which he traversed; and the exact description of his conquests, which, from these and other materials, he took care to have compiled by men of approved integrity and abilities, gave a new form to the science of geography.†

After the conquest of Babylon, Alexander eagerly demanded the astronomical observations, which had been carefully preserved in that ancient capital above nineteen centuries. They remounted twenty-two hundred and thirty-four years beyond the Christian æra. By order of Alexander, they were faithfully transcribed, and transmitted to

* Winkelmann, Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums, p. 711, & seqq.

† Strabo, l. ii. p. 47.

‡ Cassini sur l'Origine de l'Astronomie, &c. Académ. des Sciences, l. viii. p. 13.

CHAP.

XL.

Natural
history.Moral
know-
ledge.

Aristotle*, who was probably prevented by his infirm state of health from accompanying his pupil to the East; or who, perhaps, voluntarily preferred a philosophical retirement in Athens, to the glory of attending the conqueror of the world.

Nor was this the only present to his preceptor, by which Alexander displayed at once his gratitude and love of science. Natural history was peculiarly indebted to his curiosity and munificence. At the expense of nearly two hundred thousand pounds, but equivalent to two millions in the present age, he collected many rare productions of nature in different countries of Asia, and particularly that amazing variety of animals, which Aristotle has described with such inimitable precision† in his work on that subject.

But whatever obligations natural knowledge owed to Alexander, it would seem that the moral sciences were not less benefited by his discoveries and conquests‡. The study of human nature must have been greatly enlarged by such a wide survey of men and manners; nor was this advantage, per-

* Porphy. apud Simplicium, in Aristot. de Cælo, l. ii.

† Plin. l. viii. c. xvi.

‡ See the admirable criticism on Aristotle's History of Animals, by Buffon, vol. i.

|| The arts and sciences not only flourished in Alexander's time; they flourished, says Plutarch *de hæcædæ*. "He was the efficient cause of this effect." The passage, which follows, *Legem non solum prætoris, &c.* should be studied by all princes who aspire to glory; a glory greater than power can give; more extensive and more permanent than conquest can confer.

haps, confined to those who performed the exper-
dition, whose works have unfortunately perished, since the moral and political treatises of Aristotle discover not only more method in his reasonings, but a more copious fund of facts on which to reason, than the writings of all his predecessors together, not excepting those of the travellers Xenophon and Plato.

The greatest part of the works of Aristotle were doubtless composed before the Macedonian conquest; yet it is not improbable that this extraordinary man, whose industry was equal to his genius, continually retouched and improved them; and it cannot be imagined that the rich harvest of facts and observations collected by his learned friends who accompanied Alexander, would be overlooked by a philosopher, who seems not only ambitious to eclipse his predecessors and contemporaries, but solicitous to leave no gleanings of fame to be acquired by his scholars and successors.

“Aristotle,” says Lord Bacon*, “thought, like the Ottoman princes, that he could not reign secure, unless he destroyed all his brethren;” nor was his literary ambition more exclusive than exorbitant. He aspired to embrace the whole circle of the arts and sciences, and professed to explain whatever can be known concerning the moral, as well as the material world. Not satisfied with extending his empire to the utmost verge of intellect, he boldly attempts questions beyond all human research,

Works of
Aristotle.

* De Augm. Scientiarum, l. liii. c. iv.

CHAPTER

XL.



His philosophy.

With the same confidence that his pupil entered on a battle. But having to contend with enemies more stubborn than the Persians, his rashness was less successful than that of Alexander.

He divided philosophy into contemplative and practical. The contemplative or abstract philosophy, to which he first gave the name of metaphysics*, is from the imperfection in which the text has come down to us, obscure throughout, and often unintelligible. It comprehended not only the examination of those abstract ideas, *existence, substance, quantity, genus, species, &c.* which were so long and so uselessly tortured by the perverse industry of the schoolmen; but the general doctrines concerning mind or spirit, particularly the mind of the Deity. The human soul is treated in a separate work; in which it must be acknowledged, that Aristotle has made new names, rather than new discoveries; and

By some writers it is supposed, that this title was bestowed on the fourteen books of Aristotle, immediately following his *Physics*, by Andronicus of Rhodes, a Peripatetic philosopher in the age of Augustus, who published the first complete edition of Aristotle's works. From that time, the various subjects treated in these fourteen books were considered as constituting one branch of science. Aristotle had divided philosophy into speculative and practical. The first comprehended metaphysics, which examined the general properties of being, and the essence of things separate from matter; *Physics*, which examined the nature of material substances, and the human soul; and *mathematics*, which examined certain properties of body, abstracted from matter. The practical philosophy of Aristotle, which was intended to regulate the intellectual and moral operations of man, comprehended logic, under which he seems to have included rhetoric and poetics, including the *art of poetry*; and the *art of government*, as in Boetius, p. 609; and Bayle's Dictionary, article *Tyranny*; and the *analysis of Aristotle's speculative works*, prefixed to my translation of his *Practical Philosophy*.

the doctrine of the immortality is no where better CHAP. elucidated by this philosopher, than in the writings XL of his master, Plato.

The natural philosophy of Aristotle deserves the *Physics* name of metaphysic, in the modern sense of that word, since he explained the laws of the universe, by comparing abstract ideas, not, by observation and experience. When he descends to particulars, he speaks less decisively concerning the motions and magnitudes of the heavenly bodies, than many of his predecessors. With the anatomy of man and other animals, he was well acquainted, considering the gross errors which generally prevailed in the age in which he lived. Chemistry was not yet cultivated as a science. Since the introduction of the ideal philosophy, men had ceased to *observe* nature; it could not therefore be expected that they should *imitate* her operations, and examine her by the test of experiment. In mathematics, Aristotle appears to have been less versed than his precursors, Pythagoras and Plato; although in the invention of the art of syllogism, he displays a perseverance of mental energy, which had it been directed to the mathematical sciences, might have produced the greatest discoveries.

The scepticism of his contemporary Pyrrho, *Logic* and still more the captious sophistry of the *Eristics*, might naturally engage Aristotle to examine with particular attention the nature of truth, and the means of defending it against the attacks of declamation and the snares of subtlety. He under-

CHAP.

XI.



took, therefore, the arduous task, of resolving all reasoning into its primary elements, and of deducing from thence the rules by which every conclusion must be connected with its premises in order to render it legitimate. This bold design he accomplished; having erected, on a single axiom, a larger system of abstract truths, all fortified by demonstration, than were ever invented and perfected by any other man. The axiom from which he sets out, and in which the whole terminates, is, that whatever is predicated of a genus, may be predicated of every species and individual contained under it. But the application of this axiom is for the most part sufficiently obvious, without the rules of Aristotle; whose logic, how successful soever it might prove against the subtleties of the Sophists and Eristics, contributes little to the formation of the understanding, and nothing to the judicious observation of man or nature, on which all useful discoveries must be founded.

His critical and moral writings.

From the general wreck of literature, in which many of Aristotle's writings perished*, had nothing been saved but the works above mentioned, it must be confessed that the preceptor of Alexander would not greatly merit the attention of history. In his abstract or metaphysical philosophy, we have often to lament vast efforts mispent, and great genius misapplied. But, in his critical and moral, and above all, in his political works, we find the same penetrating and comprehensive mind, the same sub-

* See Bayle's Dictionary, article Tyrannion; and the Life of Aristotle prefixed to my translation of his Ethics and Politics.

use of reasoning, and vigour of intellect, directed to objects of the greatest importance and most extensive utility. The condition of the times in which he lived, and the opportunities peculiar to himself, conspired with the gifts of nature, and the habits of industry, to raise him to that eminence, which was acknowledged by his contemporaries, and admired by posterity.

He was born in the first year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, at Stagira, a provincial city of Macedonia, and educated at the court of Pella, where his father was king's physician. In his early youth, he was sent to Athens, and remained there twenty years, an assiduous scholar of Plato, in a city where literature and the fine arts were cultivated with singular success, and where the philosophic spirit, though often improperly directed, flourished in the utmost vigour. Selected by the discernment of Philip to guide and confirm the promising dispositions of his admired son, he returned to his native country, and continued eight years at the Macedonian court. Whatever benefit accrued to Alexander from the instructions of Aristotle, it is certain that the latter derived great advantages from the gratitude of his royal pupil. Of this, several proofs have already occurred; and perhaps it may be ascribed to the munificence of Alexander, that his preceptor was enabled to form a library, a work of prodigious expense in that and the succeeding age, and in which he could only be rivalled

CHAP.
XL.

His great
opportunities of im-
provement.
A. C. 368

CH. A. P. by the Egyptian and Pergamenian kings. (But the library of Aristotle was collected for use, not merely for ostentation*.)

His long residence at Athens:

The last fourteen years of his life he spent at Athens, surrounded with every assistance which men and books could afford him, for prosecuting his philosophical inquiries. The glory of Alexander's name, which then filled the world, secured tranquillity and respect to the man whom he distinguished as his friend; but, after the premature death of that awful protector, the invidious jealousy of priests and sophists inflamed the malignant and superstitious fury of the Athenian populace; and the same odious passions which proved fatal to the offensive virtue of Socrates, fiercely assailed the fame and merit of Aristotle. To avoid the cruelty of persecution, he secretly withdrew himself to Chalcis, in Euboea. This measure was sufficiently justified by a prudent regard to his personal safety; but lest his conduct should appear unmanly, when contrasted with the firmness of Socrates in a similar situation, he condescended to apologise for his flight, by saying, that he was unwilling to afford the Athenians a second op-

and death. Olymp. cxiv. 3. A. C. 322. Etat. 63.

* The Egyptian and Pergamenian kings were lovers rather of books than of learning. They considered a great library as contributing to the superfluous magnificence of royalty. Vid. Galen. Comment. lib. in Hippocrat. de Natur. Hom.

† Aristotle probably had many assistants in his philosophical inquiries and compositions. 'Ο δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα, συνέταξε τὰς ἐπιστολὰς. Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. vii.

‡ Virtutem incolumem odimus.

Sublatam ex oculis querimus tueri.

Horat. lib. i. sat. i.

portantly ^{to} ~~the~~ ⁱⁿ against philosophy*.† He ^{CH. A. P.} seems to have survived his retreat from Athens; only a few months: vexation and regret probably shortened his days. XL

Notwithstanding the occasional persecutions of speculative men, philosophy had fixed its roots too deeply in Athens, to be extirpated by the temporary phrenzy of a capricious populace. Theophrastus calmly succeeded Aristotle in the Peripateton, or walk of the Lyceum, from which place their followers retained the name of Peripatetists. Philosophical sects established at Athens. At the same time, Zeno taught *virtue* in the Stoa, or Portico, from which his disciples derived the appellation of Stoics. Epicurus explained pleasure in those well-known gardens, which were distinguished by his name. The followers of Diogenes, the Cynic, still assembled in the Cynarges; Speusippus and Xenocrates succeeded Plato in the academy**; and even Pyrrho, of Elis, founder of the sceptical sect, who had accompanied Alexander in his eastern expedition, and shared the munificence of that prince†, be-

* *Αποστρέφειν τὸν τὸν φιλοσοφίαν*. *Ælian*, l. iii. c. vi.

† *Laert.* l. v. in *Aristot.* & *Ancior.* citat. apud *Brucker.* *Histor. Philosoph.* vol. i. p. 787, & seqq.

‡ The common opinion, that the followers of Aristotle were called Peripatetists, *αὐτὸν περὶ ἡγεμονίας*, “*ex. demonstratiōis*,” adopted by *Cicero* and others, is refuted by the authors cited by *Brucker*, & i. p. 787.

§ *Laert.* vii. §.

¶ *Cicero* ad *Attic.* l. ii. epist. 24.

¶ *Idem.* *ibid.*

** *Suidas* in *Speusipp.* *Laert.* l. iv. c. 1, & seqq.

†† *Sextus Empiricus* *Pyrrhon Hippias*, l. i. c. ii.

came, after the death of his benefactor, a citizen of Athens*. Thus did that illustrious city, after the extinction of its freedom, and of its military glory, still maintain its pre-eminence in literature, philosophy, and the fine arts. In the age of Alexander, Athens, as the seat of learning, assumed that precise form, which it exactly preserved seven centuries, till the destructive invasion of Greece by Alaric, and the Goths. For it is worthy of observation, that the philosophers, who, during this long interval, perpetuated the several sects, submissively followed the opinions of their respective masters. Soon after the age of Alexander, genius disappeared; literature and the arts alike degenerated; no new sect arose; few innovations, and those unsuccessful, were attempted; and thus the period, which has been assigned for the termination of the present work, seems to have bounded the progress of the human mind; whether, according to the observation of Longinus, because liberty is the best nurse of genius, and singularly adapted, by cherishing the emulation and the hopes, to excite the energies, of those born to true excellence; or because in the words of a great philosopher, "there is a pitch of exaltation, as well as of depression, to which, when any nation has attained, its affairs necessarily return in an opposite direction."

A. D. 396.
Decline of
genius.

* Inscit in Pyrrhon. † See Supplement to my New Analysis of Aristotle's speculative Philosophy. ‡ Long de Sublim. sect. 44.

Instead of examining this speculative question, which the world is perhaps still too young to enable us with accuracy to determine, it will better suit the design of an historical work, to explain the tenets of the different schools of philosophy, then first established in Athens; briefly to relate their various success in the world; and to inquire, with becoming modesty, how far those artificial systems of happiness correspond with the natural dictates of unperverted sentiment, and impartial reason.

XI.
Tenets of the different sects.

Aristotle, the founder of the Peripatetic school, recognised, like Socrates and Plato, the dignity of human nature, and placed the chief happiness of man, not in the agreeableness of his passive sensations, but in the proper exercise of his intellectual and moral powers. According to Aristotle the habit of this exercise, directed by right reason, constituted the highest excellence of man, in the same manner as the excellence of other animals, and even of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms, resulted from the perfection of those qualities, by which they are respectively distinguished. Yet, as man is a compound being, consisting of mind and matter, it seemed evident that his well-being must in some measure depend on the condition of his body, and on the means necessary to maintain this

Tenets of the Peripatetic sect.

* The stoics adopted, on this occasion, both the sentiments and the language of Aristotle. *Ὁ μὲν φιλόδοξος ἀλλοτρίαν περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὸν ὑπολαμβάνει ὁ δὲ φιλόσοφος, ἑαυτὸν περὶ ὁ δὲ περὶ ἑαυτὸν, ἑαυτοῦ περὶ ἑαυτὸν.* vi. 34. "The vain-glorious man places his own happiness in the sentiments and actions of others; the voluptuous man, in his passive sensations; the wise man, in his own active exertions."

CHAP.
XL

inferior part of his nature in its most perfect state. The absence of disease and infirmity, and the proper constitution of all our bodily organs, are things desirable not only on their own account, but as furnishing us with the opportunity and the means of exerting those mental energies, from which our principal felicity results. In the same manner, the goods of fortune, wealth, friends, and other external advantages, are desirable not only as contributing to the supply of our bodily wants, but as the instruments through which a wise man is enabled to exercise his virtues, and accomplish his purposes. Amidst great calamities*, Aristotle required not that perfect self-command to which some philosophers pretended. He allowed a moderate degree of perturbation, as suitable to the weakness of human nature. In the present constitution of things, he thought a certain sensibility of passion not only excusable, but necessary; since resentment enabled us to repel injuries, and grief for past misfortunes made us vigilant to prevent the future evils that might otherwise overtake us. But although this great philosopher acknowledged the influence of fortune in human affairs, and thought it impossible for the firmness of men to remain unmoved amidst the miseries of Priam; he main-

Οὐτι γὰρ αἱ τῆς ἀδαιμονίας κινήσεις καὶ οἱ οὗτοι τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἀνελπίστων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὴ ἀλλοίαι πολλοί. Ethic. Nicom. I. i. c. 11.
* In barbarianity, directly, was regarded as highly disgraceful, and becoming only the character of a slave; τῶν ἀνελπίστων ἀνελπίστων. Ethic. Nicom. iv. 2.

‡ Εἰ τυχαι Πριαμῆος. Aristot. Ethic. Nicom. p. 40.

tained, however, that we ourselves were the principal architects of our own happiness. The attainment of this great object depended far more on our own thoughts and reflections, which were ever and intimately present with us, and on the constitution of our own minds, which were in some measure subject to our own direction and control, than on our external situation and circumstances, which only affected us incidentally, and over which we commonly enjoyed but little power, and sometimes none. The perfection of our virtue, which was entirely our own work, shone forth with peculiar lustre amidst the gloom of unmerited calamity. When we bore it with becoming patience, we rejoiced in our own fortitude; and this inward pleasure often destroyed, always deadened the smart of external wounds. Assaulted by the most terrible afflictions, a wise man would not deserve indeed the epithet of *happy*; yet neither could he be called *miserable*, since he would still disdain to commit any thing odious or base. Philosophy, which professes to teach us the art of enjoying life, must therefore disregard such circumstances as we can neither govern nor change, and confine itself to that part which we can regulate and control. It must withdraw our attention from external objects, and fix it on ourselves.

To know himself, man must know the powers with which he is endowed. Of these we possess some in common with other animals*, and others in common even with the inanimate parts of na-

Division
of the
mental
powers.

* The *æisthesis*, the powers of sensation, &c.

CHAP. XL. In none of those, it is evident, can the proper employment of man consist; but rather in such faculties as, being peculiar to himself, distinguish and ennoble humanity. These characteristic excellences of our species all refer, either to the understanding, or to the will; the first possesses reason essentially in itself, the second is capable of being combined and assimilated with this divine principle. From the two powers of the understanding and the will are respectively derived two classes of virtues, the intellectual and the moral. Sagacity, penetration, intelligence, wisdom, are virtues of the understanding; gentleness, temperance, fortitude, justice, are virtues of the heart. The former class consists in the proper disposition and habit of the intellectual part of the soul; the latter, in the proper disposition and habit of the desires and affections, which being formed subordinate to reason, and capable of listening to its dictates, then only perform their duty, when, like obedient subjects, they cheerfully observe the commands of their sovereign. The intellectual virtues depend chiefly on education and exercise; the moral proceed entirely from habit, from which they derive their name. It is by practising

Intellectual and moral virtues.

* The *το φρονεῖν*, &c. the powers of nutrition, &c.

† I have ventured to use this word to express the *πάθος* of Aristotle, the seat of the appetites, affections, and passions.

‡ *Βραχυτάτη δὲ αὐτὴ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς φύσεως ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν πρακτικῶν ἀρετῶν ἀγωγή.* *Ethic. Nicom.* I. i. c. ult.

§ In explaining the Aristotelian philosophy, the learned reader will perceive that I have translated, as literally as possible, the energetic expressions of its author. *Ἠθικ. Nicom.* I. i. c. ult. *moralia, mos.* The

justice, that we become just ; by practising temperance, that we become temperate ; by practising

XI.

same holds not in English. The words *arete* in Greek, and *virtus* in Latin, are of very general import, denoting any praise-worthy disposition, habit, or quality of body or mind, intellectual or moral. The indeterminate use of these words has occasioned strange confusion. The late ingenious Mr. Hume, in his Inquiry into the Principles of Morals, which, in other respects, he justly considers as the most valuable of his writings, enters into a large deduction, to prove that all virtues are praised and recommended as useful or agreeable. These qualities constitute, according to him, the proper definition, the very essence of virtue ; and all other distinctions are frivolous. To justify this paradox, he alleges the authority of Greek poets and philosophers, who apply the term *virtue* to bodily strength or address, to memory, judgment, sagacity, &c. as well as to justice, humanity, charity. This indeed is true ; but the Greeks distinguished between the virtues of the body, and those of the mind ; and the mental virtues they divided into the intellectual and moral. Aristotle characterises moral virtue as voluntary habit ; and says, that moral approbation is excited only by the praise-worthy habit of such affections and actions as originate in ourselves, and depend on no extrinsic cause. See Aristot. Magn. Moral. l. i. c. xv and his commentator, Andronicus Rhodius, p. 80. and the Ethics to Nicomachus throughout. Mr. Hume, therefore, is justly reproved by Dr. Beattie, for saying, " that the ancient moralists made no material distinction among the different species of mental endowments and defects." See Hume's Inquiry, vol. ii. p. 367. But although the ancients, and Aristotle in particular, make very material distinctions between moral and intellectual virtues, yet, in his zeal for the good cause, Dr. Beattie goes too far in asserting, " that though they considered both the moral and intellectual virtues, as necessary to the formation of a perfect character, and sometimes discoursed of both in the same treatise or system, yet they deemed the latter valuable only as means to qualify us for the former ; and insignificant or even odious, when they failed to answer this end." See Essay on Truth, p. 425. First of all, according to the Greek moralists, it is impossible ever to treat of the moral virtues as distinct from the intellectual, since the former could not exist without a mixture of reason or intellect. Ethic. Nicom. passim ; and particularly l. iii. c. ii. Secondly, The intellectual virtues were so far from being esteemed only as means to qualify us for the moral, that Aristotle considers the exercise of the former independent of the latter, as constituting our highest perfection and happiness. Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. vii.

COURAGE, that we become courageous. Hence the wonderful power of legislation, and early institution, by which the Greeks, the Spartans, and some other nations, were honourably distinguished among the rest of mankind; and by which such states as shall wisely imitate their example, may still reach the same elevation of character, and still acquire the same renown: "For it is not a matter of little moment, how we are accustomed in youth; much depends on that, or rather all." To bring

Moral virtue neither natural nor contrary to nature.

The moral virtues, it is evident, are not implanted by nature; for that which is established by nature, cannot be essentially changed by custom. Heavy bodies, which, by the law of nature, descend, cannot be habituated to mount upwards; nor can fire, which naturally ascends, be taught to move in a contrary direction. The same holds concerning all the other laws by which nature governs her works. Our senses, and other natural gifts have the power of performing their several functions, before they exert it; and they retain this power, although we should allow them to remain inactive. But virtue, like all practical arts, can be acquired and preserved by practice only. It is neither natural, nor contrary to nature. We are born capable of attaining it; but the invaluable attainment must be made and perfected by action. Yet the greater part of those who aspire to this inestimable prize, have recourse to vain speculations, flattering themselves that this is philosophy. Their conduct resembles that of a patient, who should carefully listen to his phy-

efficient, but doing nothing, which he prescribes. By which
 much medicine it is not possible to cure the dis-
 orders of the body; nor, by such philosophy, those of
 the mind. If virtue, as a matter of practice, cannot be re-
 duced to metaphysical precision. It is to be ob-
 served, however, that all the virtues depend on
 the propriety of the affections from which they
 arise; and that this propriety consists in a certain
 point or centre, from which the deviations may
 be innumerable. The vices, therefore, mostly of
 which are without names, are far more numerous
 than the virtues. In general, virtue may be con-
 ceived to lie in a mean betwixt the extremes of
 too much and too little; and this health of the
 mind resembles bodily health and strength, which
 are destroyed by excess or defect of nourishment
 or of exercise. Thus, to fear everything is coward-
 dy; to fear nothing is audacious; courage requires
 that we should fear only such objects as are truly for-
 midable, and only in that degree in which they
 ought to be feared. In the same manner, he who
 is too much affected by objects of pleasure, and
 seizes every opportunity to enjoy them, is called
 intemperate; he who is too little affected by such
 objects, and refuses every opportunity to enjoy
 them, may be called insensible. Temperate
 teaches us to pursue only such pleasures as belong
 to the soul, and to avoid those which belong to the
 body, and the abstract thence derived, denotes the particular
 side devoted to the soul.

CHAP. XL. at proper times, in proper places, and on proper occasions. According to the same view of things, generosity lies in the middle between avarice and profusion; modesty, between pride and diffidence; mildness, between irascibility and softness; magnificence, between ostentation and parsimony; popularity, between forbidding disdain and officious adulation; in a word, every virtue consists in a mean equally remote from two vicious extremes*.

How it
must be
attained.

Considered as the quality of an action, virtue consists in the propriety of that affection from which the action proceeds; when the affection is neither too strong nor too weak, but has precisely that degree of strength, which right reason teaches us to approve. As the quality of an action, virtue consists, therefore, in mediocrity; but as the quality of a person, it consists in the habit of this mediocrity, since in judging persons and characters, we regard not particular acts and feelings, but such acts and feelings as are frequent and habitual. We may perform many virtuous actions, without being virtuous men. The most worthless of human kind sometimes indulge the propensity to pity and humanity. But whoever acts right, merely from feeling, will also, from feeling, more frequently act wrong. The sentiments of nature, which prompt us to take care of our children, to relieve objects in distress, and to perform many important duties of morality, like-

* Ethic. Nicom. l. ii. c. i. & seqq.

wise prompt us to gratify the vilest and most brutal CHAP.
 of our passions. Besides this, there are many, ^{XL}
 and those the most important virtues, the exercise
 of which is not primarily attended with plea-
 sure. To support labour, to endure pain, to
 encounter difficulties and dangers, which wisdom
 and fortitude, on many occasions, require, are not
 obviously recommended by any natural desire; nor
 is the practice of such duties immediately agree-
 able. It is still less agreeable, in the first instance,
 to curb and restrain our natural appetites for plea-
 sure, which is the proper office of temperance;
 nor can that vigilant circumspection, and ever
 watchful attention to the most remote conse-
 quences of our actions, which is essential to the
 virtue of prudence, be acquired without trouble
 and care; without many painful efforts and many
 difficult struggles. Yet it is the nature of all these
 virtues, as well as of the hardest lessons of justice,
 patriotism, and friendship, to become, through
 habit, agreeable; and the only sure test that we
 have acquired them, is, that they be practised
 with pleasure. With good reason, therefore, Plato,
 defines education to be the art of teaching men to
 rejoice and grieve as they ought: for, though there
 be three ends ultimately agreeable, the pleasant,
 the honourable, and useful; yet honour and utility
 are likewise pursued as pleasures*.
 The most extensive part of virtue is employed,
 therefore, in regulating our desire of pleasure, and

* Ethic. Nicom. l. vii. c. xi. & seqq.

CHAPTER

XL.

The hardest task of moral virtue.

aversion to pain. It is also the most difficult, for, as Heraclitus observes, it is harder to combat pleasure than anger. The irascible passions are always moved by some appearance of reason, and, in their most furious excesses, still affect some deference for their sovereign. They often, indeed, mistake his intentions; and, like hasty servants, fly into action, without waiting his last orders. But pleasure passively obeys sensation, without regarding reason at all. The mischief is the more dangerous, being produced by the first object of natural desire; for the love of pleasure is implanted in our frame; the germ expands with our nature; and unless counteracted in due time, becomes ingrained in our constitution, every part of which it pervades and stains. Habit alone can counteract those dangerous propensities of nature. Habit can enable us to reject dishonourable or hurtful pleasures, to prefer honourable or useful pains; for, as the poet Euenus says, "there is a long continued exercise of attention, which finally becomes nature."

Intellectual virtues the purest.

The moral virtues cannot, according to Aristotle, subsist without some mixture of the intellectual;

* Euenus was an elegiac poet of Paros, of whom few fragments remain. The verses translated in the text are,

Θημι πολὺν χρόνον μελέτην, ὥστε καὶ δὴ
ταῦτα ἐνθεοποιῶ τελευτάδαν ἄνεσθ' ἔμει.

Habits, by long-continued care imprint;

And strong as opiate in the human breast.

This is better expressed by another Greek proverb: *ἑὺ καὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιεῖν.* Plut. Moral. p. 602. "Choose the best life, and do not render it agreeable."

but the latter may subsist alone and independent; and according to both Aristotle and Plato, the purest and most permanent felicity of which man is susceptible, results from the exercise of his rational powers upon subjects of abstract speculation. CHAP. XL
and most permanent source of happiness.

The labours of the statesman or general, the exertions of the legislator or patriot, all refer to some end or purpose, the attainment of which may be prevented by fortune, or frustrated by the weakness or wickedness of men. The practice of justice, generosity, temperance, and fortitude, requires many conditions, and supposes a variety of situations, which it is not always in our power to command. The just or generous man must have objects to whom he may extend the effects of his justice or generosity; he must possess the means by which to exercise those virtues, which all participate of frail mortality; since, though directed by prudence, they are impelled by passion, and result from the exigencies of our present corporeal state. But the energies of contemplative wisdom are perennial and pure, like the intellectual source from which they spring. Not subservient to remote purposes, or contingent ends, they are immediately agreeable on their own account; and, on every side, round and complete in themselves. If the proper exercise of every member or faculty enlivens the sense of our existence, and thereby yields us a perception of pleasure, how wonderfully delightful must be the exercise of the intellect which renders us sensible of the divine principle within us. To live according to nature, is to live according to the

CHAPTER

XL



Estimate
of Aris-
totle's
philoso-
phy.

His fate in
the world.

noblest part of our nature, which, devoted to the mind. To live thus, is the life of a god; for human as we are, we ought not, according to the vulgar exhortation, to regard only human things; but, though mortal, strive to put on immortality; assured that, as the mind chiefly forms the man; he who most cultivates his mind, is the best disposed in himself, and the most agreeable to the gods.

Such is the philosophy of Aristotle, lofty, sometimes, and imposing; but in general, less brief and independent than that of Socrates and Plato, who preceded him; less proud and beautiful than that of the Stoics, or even the Epicureans, by whom he was followed; and on the whole, perhaps, as unexceptionable as that of any moralist ancient or modern.

It is commonly observed, that Aristotle attained the same authority over the opinions of men, which his pupil Alexander acquired over their persons. But the empire of Alexander was established in his own lifetime; and perished with himself. That of Aristotle did not commence till more than a thousand years after his decease, and continued many centuries. The Peripatetic school subsisted, indeed, without interruptions; he taught, but the

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Lycæum, never attained there any pre-eminence above the Porch and Academy. When philosophy was transplanted to a more splendid theatre in Rome, men of speculation and science generally preferred Plato to Aristotle; while many of the most celebrated characters of the republic enlisted themselves under the banners of Zeno or Epicurus. With the fall of Roman liberty, philosophy, as well as literature and the fine arts, slowly declined; and under the emperors, particularly in the second and third centuries of the Christian æra, the most extravagant of Plato's speculations were the doctrines best adapted to the condition of the times, and to the dark and shadowy minds of Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblichus, and other contemplative visionaries, distinguished by the appellation of Eclectics, or later Platonists, who possessed the wildness without the fancy, and the subtilty without the genius of Plato. During the succeeding centuries, the doctrines of Aristotle slowly gained the ascendancy; but, as had happened to Plato in an earlier period, the most frivolous part of Aristotle's philosophy was the highest in esteem during the darkness of the middle ages. The decisive boldness of his logic, physic, and metaphysic, suited the genius of a church which affected to be universal, and the arrogance of a man who pretended to be infallible; and, while the useful and

* Cicero, *passim*.

† Besides the works of Brucker and Stanley, the learned reader may consult on this subject, professor Meiner's *Beitrag über die Neu Platonische Philosophie*. Leipzig, 1782.

practical work of Aristotle were complicated by his speculative philosophy being thus incorporated with the ill-mixed superstitions they long conspired with astonishing audaces, to enthrall the human mind.

Coincidence in the opinions of Zeno and Epicurus.

Zeno and Epicurus pretended, as well as Plato and Aristotle, to deduce their philosophy from experience; but their views of nature are less per-
 epicurism, and less extensive; and their conclusions less convincing, and less reasonable. For the infinite variety of nature, they substituted the narrowness of their own artificial systems; and it will ever be the scandal of this abstract philosophy, that men who boasted following the same path, should have reached such opposite goals; the sect of Zeno, having discovered, by all its researches, that pain was not a evil; and the sect of Epicurus, that pleasure was the only good; the Stoics, that virtue alone was truly valuable in itself, and desirable on its own account; the Epicureans, that virtue in itself was really of no value, and merely desirable for the sake of pleasure. Yet, amidst the striking contradictions of these sects, they agreed in speculative pride; loudly asserting, that the philosophy which they respectively taught, was the exclusive road to happiness. Both required from their imaginary sage an absolute command over his passions, and both supposed, that in his present state of existence, he could attain this perfection. Zeno and Epicurus alike rejected the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, as unnecessary to their system; both justified suicide; both boasted of enjoying a felicity equal to that of the gods;

and, in proportion as their principles received from CHA-
 rity and apture, and flattered that factitious vanity KL.
 incident to the human heart, they were diffused
 with greater rapidity, more zealously embraced
 and more obstinately defended*.

In examining by what show of reason, men, The stoic-
philosophy.
 whose wisdom was revered by their contemporaries, could arrive at such extraordinary conclusions, the dignity of *virtue* demands the
 preëdence for Zeno. That philosopher affected to examine, with great accuracy, the natural
 propensities of the human race; to observe the various changes which individuals underwent
 in their progress from infancy to manhood; to contemplate the effects produced by external causes
 on our internal frame; and, by comparing man with inferior animals, to display the illustrious
 prerogatives which he enjoyed, and the high destination which nature had assigned him. Self-preservation, he observed, was the universal and primary
 desire of all animals. In man, this desire respected his body, and all its different members; his mind, and all its different faculties; and prompted him to maintain the whole fabric of his complex
 being in the most perfect condition of which it is capable. Nature had generally attached a pleasure
 to the means necessary for this purpose; but, that we desired pleasure for the sake of preservation,
 not preservation for the sake of pleasure, he thought evident from the first motions and efforts of all ani-

* Laert. in Zenon. & Epicur. Cicero de Finibus, l. i. ii. iii. Plinarch. de Common. Concept. contra Stoicos.

on a state, tending to prevent dissolution antecedently to any distinct notions of pain or pleasure*.

III.
Love of truth.

Although, in the order of time, man perhaps first felt the propensities requisite to the safety of his bodily frame, yet, at a very early period, he shewed himself endowed with desires of a different, and more exalted kind. Notwithstanding the obscure intimations of his love of truth and knowledge during his infant state, in which he applied his senses with great activity to the examination of the objects presented to him, he naturally learned the use of words to denote these objects, as well as the reflections of his own mind concerning them; and had no sooner made this important acquisition, than he testified an ardent curiosity to extend his knowledge, and to enlarge his acquaintance with the nature, the causes, the relations, and dependencies of the various classes of beings which he beheld around him. From this love and approbation of what is true and sincere, rather than of the contrary, which he felt to be congenial to his own nature, he readily believed whatever those persons, with whom he conversed, thought proper to communicate to him; a principle which, though the source of innumerable errors and prejudices, served, however, as the only foundation on which his future improvements could be reared.

From this source he derived his notions of good and evil, and of the principles of morality.

* The principles of the stoical philosophy are explained in Cicero de Finibus, the works of Epictetus, Arrian, Simplicius, and others, treating of the practical duties of morality. Cicero, in his Offices, chiefly follows the principles of the stoics.

THE HISTORY OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE STOICS.

y In examining the nature and relations of other things, he gradually becomes sensible of his own. His affections; he felt; carried him beyond his own person, and he derived happiness from the happiness of others, although he received from it no advantage but the pleasure of beholding it. The sentiments of justice, gratitude, and benevolence, he felt to be agreeable to his nature, to be proper and laudable; the contrary sentiments, to be disagreeable to his nature, to be improper and odious. His own good, therefore, was thus pointed out to him, by the original frame of his sentiments, to be intimately connected with the good of his family, his friends, his country, and the great society of mankind; of which he made part. Regarding his views still farther, he perceived, that every species is fashioned relatively to the element in which it lives; thus fishes have fins for the water, birds have wings for the air; and that many of these species are mutually connected with, and reciprocally subservient to, each other, while all of them essentially enter into the great plan of nature, and complete the harmony and perfection of that universal system, to the stability of which the order of particular parts, or what, in each species, and in each individual, is called private good, must necessarily be subordinate. Considering the narrowness of human capacity, it is not wonderful that many of the connections and dependencies of this universal system should escape our observation. But if we confine our view to those objects of which we have the clearest apprehension, we shall

CHAP. XL.
 Social affection.

Universal system.

CHAP. find that they all depend on each other, and are
 XI. united in one scheme or constitution of things.
 The individuals of the human race were doubt-
 less formed not for themselves alone. In the
 different sexes, the external organization, and still
 more the inward frame; the correspondence of parts,
 and still more the sympathy of sentiments, indicate
 the male and female mutually destined for each
 other. The naked helplessness of infancy requires
 the tender cares of a parent. The decrepitude of
 age loudly demands the kind returns of filial grati-
 tude. In early ages of the world, men, without
 uniting in small communities, must have fallen a
 prey to the savages of the desert; and, with the
 growth of these communities, social affection
 naturally makes progress; since, with the ad-
 vancement of arts and civility, the bands which
 unite us to our country are multiplied and
 strengthened.

Rules of
 duty
 thence de-
 rived.

In thus contemplating the relations in which he
 stands, man becomes sensible of the duties re-
 quired of him. The voice of nature teaches him
 (for this is her universal law) that the greater good
 is to be preferred to the lesser, and the good of
 the many to that of the few. In applying this
 rule to all the classes of objects submitted to our
 choice, we live consistently with nature. The
 goods of the mind, therefore, must be preferred
 to those of the body; and what is called private
 interest must yield to that of the public. Even in
 objects of the same class, the general law must be
 observed. We must *prefer* and *reject*, according

to the rule of right reason, not according to caprice and fancy. In the primary objects of desire respecting the body, health is to be preferred to strength, and strength to agility; and in the secondary objects respecting this part of our nature, or those which may be employed as instruments to procure bodily pleasures, and ward off bodily pains, such as wealth, power, the good opinion of those with whom we live, and innumerable other circumstances of a similar kind, we must uniformly regulate our conduct by the same great principles of preference and rejection*. In thus appreciating the objects of desire, and when all cannot be obtained, in preferring the most valuable and honourable; in thus appreciating the objects of aversion, and when all cannot be avoided, in rejecting the most hurtful and odious, consist that order and harmony, that just balance of affection, and perfect propriety of conduct, which essentially contains in it whatever is meritorious, laudable, and happy. It is concerning the primary objects of desire, indeed, and the means necessary to attain them, that this propriety of sentiment and action is exercised; but as those to whom we are introduced are often more valued by us, than those by whom we were made known to them, so the duties of wisdom and virtue, to which we have been, as it were, recommended by

* The technical terms of the stoical philosophy, like all terms of art, sound awkward in languages in which they were not originally invented; nothing can be more natural than the Greek expressions, *κατασκευασμένα* and *κατασκευαστέα*.

THE original propensities of our nature, are far more estimable in themselves, than all the external advantages which they are fitted to procure. When our lives are harmonised to virtue, when we perceive the agreement of our thoughts and actions to propriety and decorum, the beauty of this concord strikes us as infinitely more desirable than all the ends which it has a tendency to promote: this concord itself becomes the great, or rather the sole, end of all our pursuits; compared with which, health and sickness, riches and poverty, pain and pleasure, are finally considered as objects of little moment, and altogether incapable of shaking the stability of our happiness.

The pleasure of observing them.

It is in vain that men seek felicity in those objects which depend not on themselves; which, even while they possess, they fear to lose; and which fortune can either give or take away*. The feelings of our own minds, which are ever and intimately present to us, must always afford the principal source of our happiness or misery. To a wise man, therefore, every condition of external circumstances, and every situation in life, must be alike indifferent, since there is none wherein he can be placed, in which he may not perform his duty, and render himself an object of approbation and applause to all rational nature. To seek in our own minds the testimony of the whole universe in our favour, and to be sensible, that whatever may be

* Καὶ τα μὴ ἐφ' ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐστὶν οὐτε ἀγαθόν, οὐτε κακόν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων. Epictet. Enchirid. c. ii.

the consequences of our conduct, it has been go^d G. H. A. P.
 verned by the great rules which the Divinity pre-
 scribes, affords a degree of inward satisfaction, to
 which the greatest outward prosperity can add not
 thing worthy of calculation; for as a single drop
 of water is lost in the broad expanse of the *Ægean*,
 as a single step is disregarded in the immense dis-
 tance to India, as the light of a taper is eclipsed by
 the meridian sun*, so the external conveniences
 of life, and the advantages pertaining to the body,
 are overwhelmed, obscured, and lost; in the tran-
 scendent excellence and incomparable splendour
 of virtue.

Those dangers which appear most formidable, Fortitude:
 and those calamities which appear most dreadful to
 the vulgar, cannot intimidate or afflict the man
 who has fortitude to despise the one, and constancy
 to bear the other. The sage delights in those clouds
 of adversity, through which his virtue beams forth
 with peculiar lustre; and rejoices in the kind cruel-
 ties of Fortune, which subject him to difficult and
 glorious combats. Sensible of his own powers,
 he is happy to measure them against a vigorous
 antagonist. The victory is not liable to contin-
 gencies, but depends on himself alone; a con-
 sideration sufficient to support him against the com-
 bined strength of countless enemies. When
 the firm probity of Regulus submitted his perishable
 body to be burned and lacerated by the Cartha-

* The illustrations given by Cic. de Fin.

† Ἀντιπὸς ἀπὸ δύναται, καὶ τίς μὲν ἀγῶν καταβαίνει, ὅς τε ἐστὶν ὁρ-
 ῶμεν. Anchi. c. xxv.

C. H. A. P.

XL

Resignation.

ginians, he well knew, that those revengeful Barbarians could not torture his fortitude, his patriotism, his magnanimity. His mind guarded by such an assemblage and attendance of virtues bade defiance to every assault. The mind of Regulus still triumphed; and amidst the painful dissection of his frail members, he maintained and fortified the integrity of that part of his nature which properly constitutes the man, and in which alone any permanent happiness or misery can reside. From the enthusiasm naturally inspired by the beautiful and august forms of benevolence and magnanimity, the stoics again returned to the speculations of abstract philosophy. In every arrangement or combination of objects, which can be called a constitution or system, the good of each part, they observed, must be relative and subordinate to that of the whole. To illustrate in the constitution most familiar to us, the body of man, the good of each limb and member, considered as something separate and independent, consisted in preserving its natural state, and in never being subjected to any fatigue or hardship, to any pain or uneasiness. But considered as the part of a system in the good of which its own is necessarily included, this limb or member, must often submit to great inconveniences. For the sake of the whole body, the foot must often trample in the dirt, must often tread upon thorns, and sometimes be bruised, or lacerated, or even cut off, when such operations are requisite for the safety of the whole system. In refusing to comply, the foot ceases to be a foot;

in the same manner do not cease to be a man, in shrinking from the hardest duties required by the interest of society. But that society itself, as well as every member which it contains, are parts of a larger system, that grand harmonious whole, whose consummate order and perfect beauty evince the superintendence of infinite wisdom and infinite goodness. Under such government, no absolute evil can exist; and what appears wrong respecting particular parts, must necessarily be right respecting the whole. A wise man will therefore be alike satisfied with every situation in which he may be placed; deeply convinced, that, were he acquainted with the whole connections and dependencies of events, his actual situation would, even to himself, appear the most proper, that could possibly be assigned him. He uses, indeed, such means as prudence directs, to avert calamity; but when that is his lot, he cheerfully submits to the wise dispensation of Providence. The established order of the universe, he knows, is not to be changed by the prayers of men. When he prays to the Gods, it is not with a view to alter their wise purposes concerning him: he prays that they would show him the hardest trials with which he must contend, and the severest circumstances in which he must be placed; that, by voluntarily accepting those trials, and voluntarily embracing those circumstances, he may prove his confidence in their goodness; and his perfect resignation to their sovereign will.

Ἄρα δὲ μὲν, ὡς Ζεὺς καὶ οὐκ ἡ Περσέων,

ὅπως οὐδ' ἄλλῃ μὲν διακρίνεται,

ἢς εὐλαὶ σπουδαίης ἡδὲ ἀνέρος.

C H A P.

XL.

Command
over the
passions

If our own unmerited misfortunes might never to create in us any uneasiness, so neither ought we to be affected by those of our relations, but friends, or our country. When calamity threatens connections so dear to us, we must exert ourselves strenuously in their behalf; but should our well-meant endeavours be frustrated by circumstances not liable to our control, it would be highly ungraceful and improper to have recourse to unmanly lamentations. The same law of propriety which prompts our active exertions to the good of others, restrains our passive feelings at the sight of their distress: the former alone can be useful to *them*; the latter would be both hurtful and dishonourable to *ourselves*.

The stoical philosophy imposed therefore an absolute silence on the soft voice of pity, as well as on the boisterous dissonance of anger, and on all passions in general, those perturbations and diseases of the mind, which a wise man ought not merely to appease, but utterly to eradicate. As they supposed their imaginary sage capable of attaining this perfection, they inferred, that all duties were alike easy to him. His actions were

This reason is subjoined,

“We ought to be willing to obey the Gods, since we must obey them, whether we are willing or not.”

* Epictetus, however, allows the appearance of sympathy with subjects in distress, but sternly forbids the reality. *Μὴν γὰρ τοῖς ἀλλοῖς συμπαροῦσθαι, αὐτῷ (viz. the person afflicted) ἀλλ’ ἑστὶ τοῦ ἐνθυμιᾶσαι, ποιεῖν μὴ τὸ μὴ εὖ εὐχόμενον εὐχόμενα.* Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, c. xxii.

continually regulated by propriety, and all of them therefore equally laudable; whereas those of a fool, or one who substituted passion and caprice in the stead of reason and principle, were all equally blamable. This doctrine, which so nearly resembles that of some Christian divines, "that the greatest virtues of the heathens were but splendid vices," is the source to which all the other paradoxes of the stoics may be traced. Both these Christians and the stoics considered good or bad actions as relative only to the cause which produces them, the affection or character from which they proceed, not to the consequences which flow from them, the good or bad effects which they tend to promote. These consequences and effects, it was observed by the stoics, depended not on ourselves. With regard to us, therefore, they were altogether indifferent; and as such, could not possibly constitute any part of merit or demerit, or become the proper objects of praise or censure.

The ignorant vulgar, indeed, and as such the stoics considered all those who were unacquainted with their philosophy, allowed such contingent circumstances to influence their appreciation of actions and characters; and thence the extraordinary confusion introduced into religion and morality. Of two men, equally vicious, the one may be condemned to obscurity, and bereft of opportunity to exert his wickedness; the other may be raised to power, which he abuses, or entrusted with a sceptre, which becomes an iron rod in his hands. To the bulk of mankind, the second appears a greater

C. H. A. P.

XL.

Vulgar
estima-
tions of
actions
and cha-
racters.

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XL



molster than the first. To the philosopher, they appear equally criminal; but the first is a storm, which spends its rage in vanity; the second is cold, not more tempestuous; that destroys many fair objects accidentally exposed to its violence, in the same manner two men may be equally meritorious, although the one, from the unforeseeable circumstances in which he is placed, may resemble a clear stream rolling through a lonely solitude, while the other, more advantageously situated with respect to external objects, may resemble a turbid fat river flowing through a populous valley supplying the wants of man and other animals, and diffusing abundance and pleasure through the contiguous country, which it fertilises and adorns.

Corrected
by the
author.

The injudicious estimation of virtues and vices, by the effects which they tend to produce, is the source of that extravagant admiration on the one hand, and that excessive severity on the other, which universally characterise the judgments of the vulgar. But a wise man, who examines the first principles of action in the human heart, will neither be dazzled by the splendour of heroes and patriots, nor provoked to undue revenge against illustrious criminals*. The civil magistrates, who are intrusted with the interest of society, and who have that interest always in view, must chiefly regard external actions, and consider them as sufficient indications of the inward affections and character. It is his business to regulate the lives, not to purify

* *Συμὰ ἀποκαθάρσις καὶ ἡθελία, ἢ ἡθελία, &c. Ruchin, &c. lib. 1. c. 10.*

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the hearts of men. But we may be assured that He, who can penetrate deeper than an earthly judge, governs the moral world by more refined principles, and dispenses rewards and punishments according to a more accurate standard\*. To avert his anger, superstition commands us to repair, or compensate, the bad consequences of our misconduct, a thing often impracticable: to regain his approbation, and that of our own breasts, philosophy exhorts us to fix our chief attention, not on effects which are transitory, but on the cause, which is permanent; to be less anxious about wiping off the stain of particular sins, than solicitous to destroy the source from which they all flow. When we have accomplished this great purpose, we have reached the perfection of our nature. For the Deity, who has enjoined virtue as our duty, has placed our happiness in virtue. In performing the task assigned us, we necessarily attain our reward†.

Such is the philosophy of the stoics, which, <sup>Philosophy of</sup> beside containing several contradictions which all <sup>Epicurus.</sup> the subtlety of the sect was unable to reconcile, evidently supposes a degree of perfection far beyond the weakness of humanity. The system of Epicurus, not less artificial in its texture, though humbler in its origin, is equally magnificent in its conclusions‡. Like the lowly plant,

\* Epictet. Enchir. c. xxviii.

† Quod si ita est, ut neque quisquam, nisi bonus vir, & omnes boni bene sint; quid philosophi magis colendum, aut quid est virtutis divinus. Cicero de Fin. l. iii. ad fin.

‡ Diogen. Laert. in Aristip. & Epicur.

CHAP. which, at first feebly emerging from the ground,  
 XL. gradually rises to a stately tree towering to the sky,  
 the philosophy of Epicurus, at first restricting the  
 primary objects of natural desire and aversion to  
 bodily pleasure and pain, by degrees expands itself  
 into the fairest forms of virtue, and enforces the  
 severest lessons of duty. That pleasure and pain  
 are the universal objects of desire and aversion is  
 a truth, he observed, powerfully attested by the  
 consenting voice of all animated nature. Not  
 only men, but children, and even brute beasts,  
 could they emit articulate sounds, would declare  
 and cry out, that pleasure is the sovereign good,  
 and pain the greatest evil\*. That they are, not  
 only the greatest and most universal, but the sole  
 ultimate objects of desire and aversion, Epicurus  
 endeavoured to prove by analysing our passions,  
 and actions, and virtues, all of which, he pre-  
 tended, had, in the last instance, nothing farther  
 in view than to procure bodily pleasure, and avoid  
 bodily pain. If we desire power and wealth, it is  
 because power and wealth furnish us with innume-  
 rable means of enjoyment. Sensible that the good-  
 will of the society in which we live, is necessary to  
 our security, we strive assiduously to acquire it;  
 cultivate friendship, exercise benevolence, and  
 practise with diligence and alacrity all those social  
 virtues essential to the public safety, in which our  
 own is included. When it is necessary, reject a  
 present pleasure, in order to attain a greater in  
 future, temperance must moderate the eagerness of

\* Cicero de Finibus, l. i. c. ix. & passim.

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desire, and, when it is necessary to encounter a present pain, in order to avoid a greater in future, fortitude must control the dictates of pusillanimity. Justice teaches us to abstain from injuring others, as the only condition on which we can escape being injured by them. And prudence, which according to Epicurus is the queen of all the virtues, and to which justice, temperance, and fortitude, are barely handmaids and attendants, invariably points out to us, and enforces, that course of action which is most conducive to our private comfort and happiness. This course of action is acknowledged by all moralists to consist in the practice of virtue; so that virtue, according to Epicurus, is the only true wisdom, and vice the most short-sighted levity, and weakest folly.

To illustrate this doctrine, he observed, that though all the modifications of hope and fear ultimately refer to the sensations of bodily pleasure or pain, yet the pleasures and pains of the mind are infinitely more important than their originals. The body can only feel the sensation of the present moment, which can never be of great importance; whereas the mind recollects the past, and anticipates the future. If our mental frame, therefore, be properly adjusted, if our sentiments and judgments be duly regulated, it is a matter of little moment how our bodies may be disposed; we shall despise its pleasures, and even set its pains at defiance. If pain be violent, experience teaches us that it must be short; it cannot be continued long without becoming moderate, and admitting many in-

His analysis of pleasure and pain.

C. H. & P.

XL



Bold pre-
tensions of
his philo-
sophy.

torments of ease; besides death is always within our reach, and ready at a call to deliver us, when our life becomes a burden.

By this kind of philosophical chemistry, Epicurus, extracted from the grossest material, the most sublime principles of wisdom and virtue. His philosophy imposed absolute silence on the passions; since no state, and, therefore, not the little republic of man, can be happy in addition. In this tranquillity of mind, he boasted a felicity which external pleasures might vary, but could not increase; and his security of enjoyment, he asserted to be equally firm and unalterable with that of the Gods, since the most unbounded duration could not afford greater happiness than arose from reflecting, that all our pleasures and pains are confined within a narrow space. Having adapted the atomic philosophy of Democritus, he reduced it subservient to his morality. The phenomena of nature, he fancied, might be explained by the figures and motions of the small particles of matter; and as the universe arose, so did it continue, without the interference of the Gods, these celestial beings, who, enjoying complete happiness in themselves and totally independent on the actions of men, are neither gratified by our virtues, nor offended by our crimes. Confiding in the certainty of these speculations, he trampled under foot the superstitious terrors of the vulgar, and fortified his mind against the fear of death.*

* Lactetius, passim.

Such were the tenets of Epicurus, than whom no philosopher was ever more admired and beloved by his disciples, or more cordially attached to them in affectionate esteem. He is described as a man of the most amiable disposition, of great gentleness and humanity; and, like Eudoxus, who preceded him, and who inculcated the same loose doctrines of religion and morality, extremely temperate with regard to pleasure; a circumstance which failed not to add much reputation to his philosophy. In his character, the firm and manly, were united with the gentler, virtues. When grievously afflicted with the stone, he bore the agony incident to that disease with the greatest constancy; and, in the last day of his life, when his pain had reached a degree beyond which he could conceive none greater, wrote to his friend Hermachus*, and recommended to him the children of his favourite disciple Metrodorus, assuring him, at the same time, that as to himself, he still was happy, since the smart of his bodily sufferings was more than compensated by the pleasures of his mind, and particularly by the agreeable remembrance of his discoveries; a declaration, however inconsistent it may be deemed with his opinions, highly honourable to the man.

Such were the philosophical systems respecting life and happiness, by which the more liberal part of mankind long affected to regulate their sentiments and conduct. The excessive scepticism of Pyrrho, which none could reduce to practice without merit.

* Vid. Diogen. Laert. l. x. sect. ix. & Cic. de Finibus, l. ii. c. xix. & seqq.

CHAP. XL ing the charge of insanity, seems never, even in theory, to have had much vogue among the speculatists of antiquity. In matters of doubtful evidence, indeed, a prudent suspension of judgment had been recommended by Socrates, enforced by Plato, and extended to subjects of every kind by their followers, Arcesilas and Carneades. These philosophers, however, in denying certainty, still admitted probability, which they thought sufficient for regulating our judgments and actions. But the extravagant Pyrrho was dogmatical only in maintaining that no one opinion was more probable than another. The non-existence of sensible qualities, which had been proved by Democritus, Protagoras, and Aristippus, and which is commonly supposed a modern discovery, because the contrary opinion obtained among the schoolmen, probably led Pyrrho to deny the reality likewise of moral qualities and distinctions. As heat and cold, tastes and colours, had no external existence in bodies, and were mere ideas of the mind; in the same manner, beauty and deformity, virtue and vice, happiness

* Because Socrates and Plato doubted some things, these philosophers doubted all. Vid. Cicer. Acad. 1. i. They formed, what was called, the New Academy, which held the same tenets with the old, only asserting them less positively.

† See Sextus Empiricus, p. 899.

‡ Pyrrhon. Hypot. 1. i. sect. 216.

§ Præterea quoniam nequeunt sine luce colores esse, neque in luce existunt, præcordia resque scire licet, quam sint nullo velata colore.

Sed, ne forte, putes solo spoliata colore Corpora prima manere: etiam secreta teporis, Sunt, ac frigoris omnino, &c.

and misery, had no real or permanent cause, but depended, like every thing else, on relation or comparison. Upon this principle, that all was relative,* Pyrrho established topics for enabling his sect readily to dispute the truth of all positions whatever; which topics he reduced to ten, probably in opposition to the ten categories of the dogmatists. The great patron of Pyrrhonism boasts, that while other philosophers wandered in pursuit of a false and artificial happiness, Pyrrho alone had discovered the true and natural one, and that, by an accident similar to the painter's†, who having finished the picture of a dog all to the foam of his mouth, could not, after repeated trials, satisfy himself in painting this last circumstance. Enraged by disappointment, he at length dashed against the canvas the sponge with which he wiped his pencil. Accident produced the effect which he had vainly sought from art; and the foam was represented so naturally, that the picture, though admirable in other respects, was chiefly admired on this account. Fatigued by many painful researches into the nature of truth and virtue, Pyrrho, in the same manner, had discovered that truth and virtue were nowhere to be found; a discovery which produced that moderation and *indisturbance*‡, that happy in-

* Πᾶτα ὁμοίᾳ τι. Sextus Empiric.

† Sextus Empiric. Hypothes. Pyrrhon. l. i. c. xiv. & Diogen. Laert. in Pyrrhon.

‡ Sextus Empiric. l. i. c. xii. Sextus calls the painter Apelles. Pliny, l. xxxv. c. xx. ascribes this accident to Protogenes, and a similar one to Nealcas, in painting a horse.

§ Ἀταράξια. Sextus Empiric.

CHAP. difference, or rather perfect insensibility, which is
 XL as naturally attended by happiness, as a body is
 Conclusion. followed by its shadow*.

In concluding this work with the scepticism of Pyrrho, it is proper to observe, for the honour of Greece, that though the doctrines which that philosopher inculcated can have no other tendency than to unhinge the moral principles, to darken and perplex the mind; yet those systems of his contemporaries, or predecessors, which have been more particularly explained in the present history, amidst all their apparent contradictions, uniformly afford such views of nature and of man, as awaken or heighten our love for both. Established on firm grounds of reason, they evince the indissoluble union of interest with duty, display the beauty of virtue in its brightest charms, and unmask the hideous spectres of fancy and superstition.

* Sextus Empiric. ubi supra, & passim.

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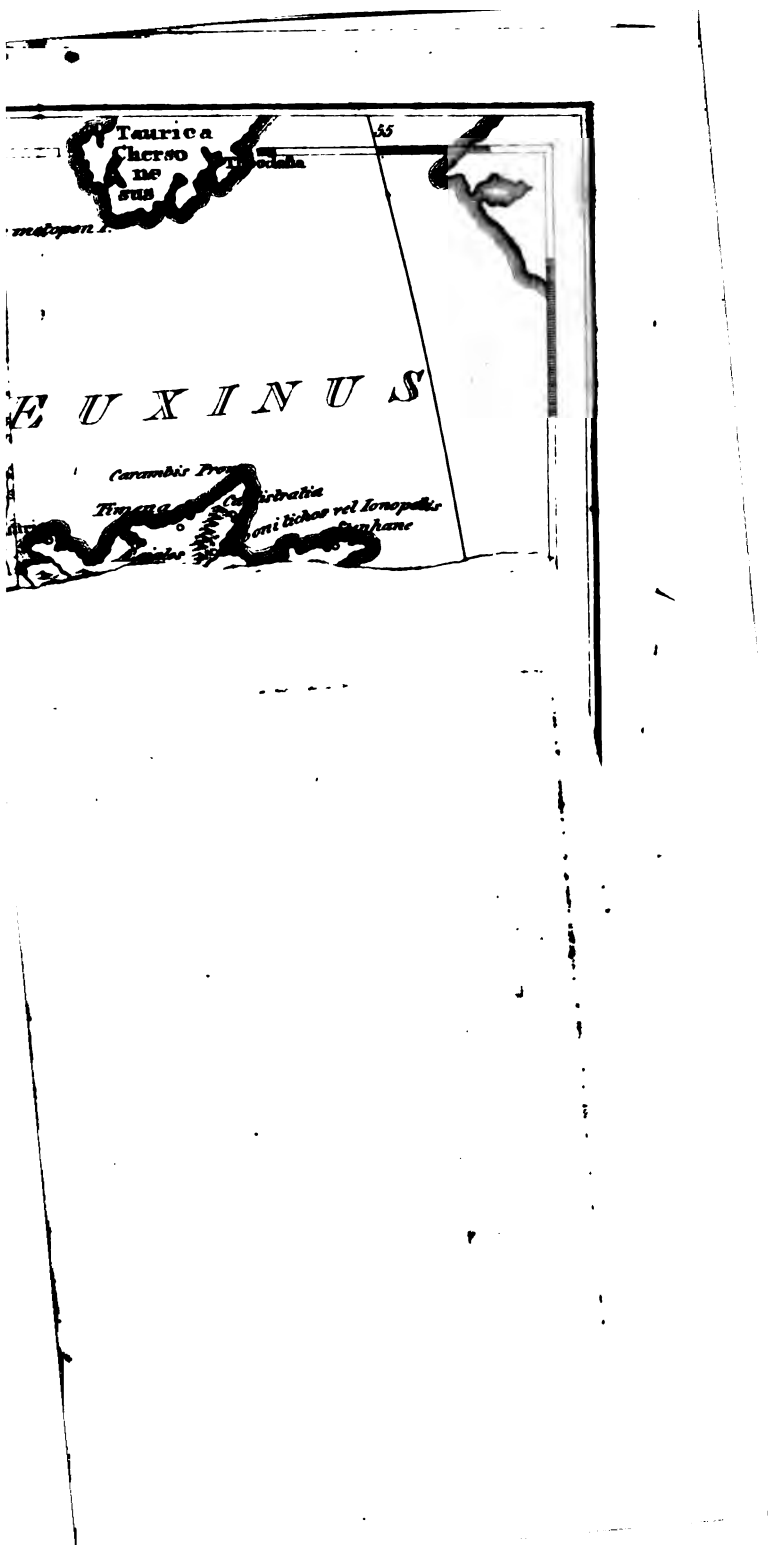
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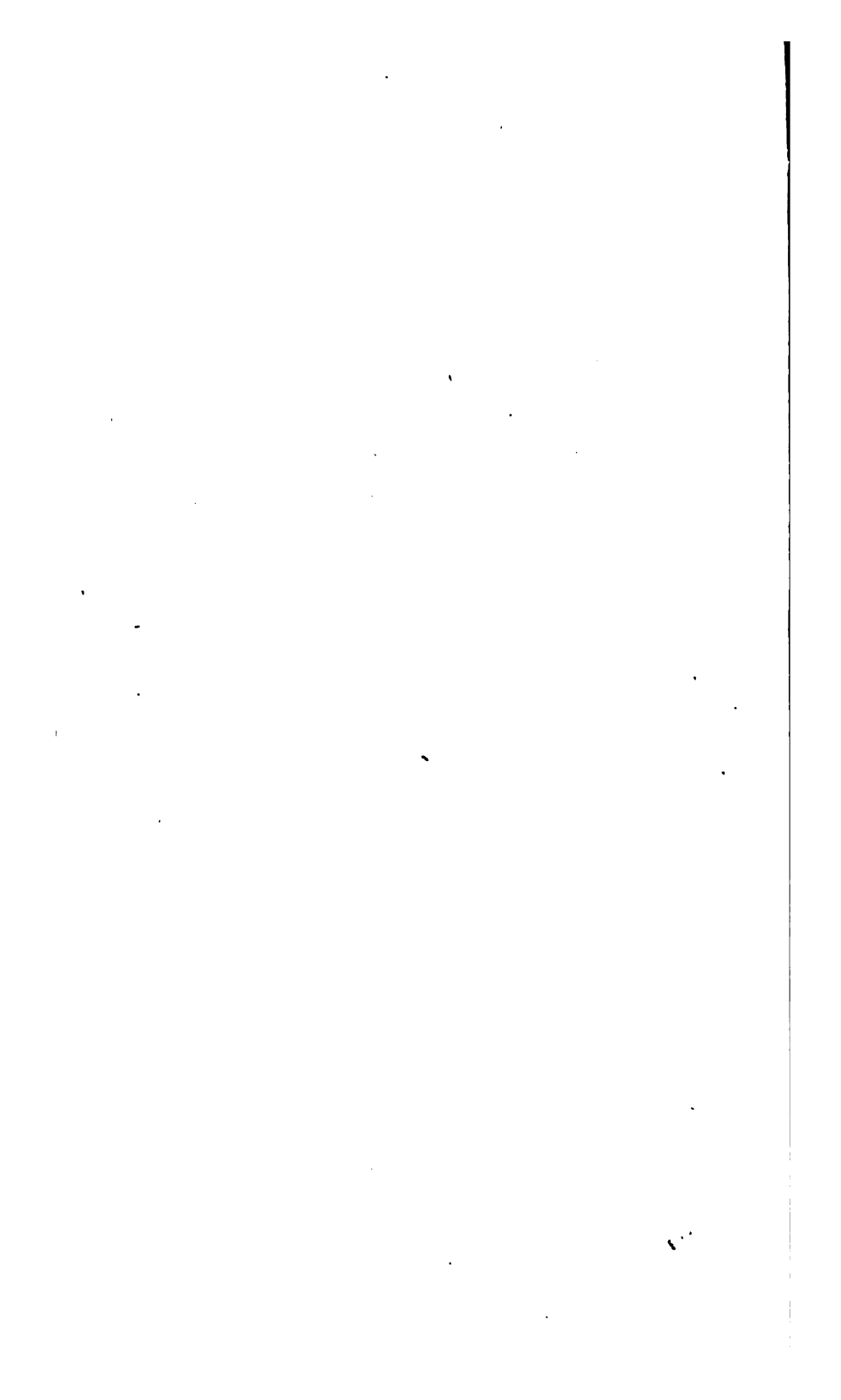


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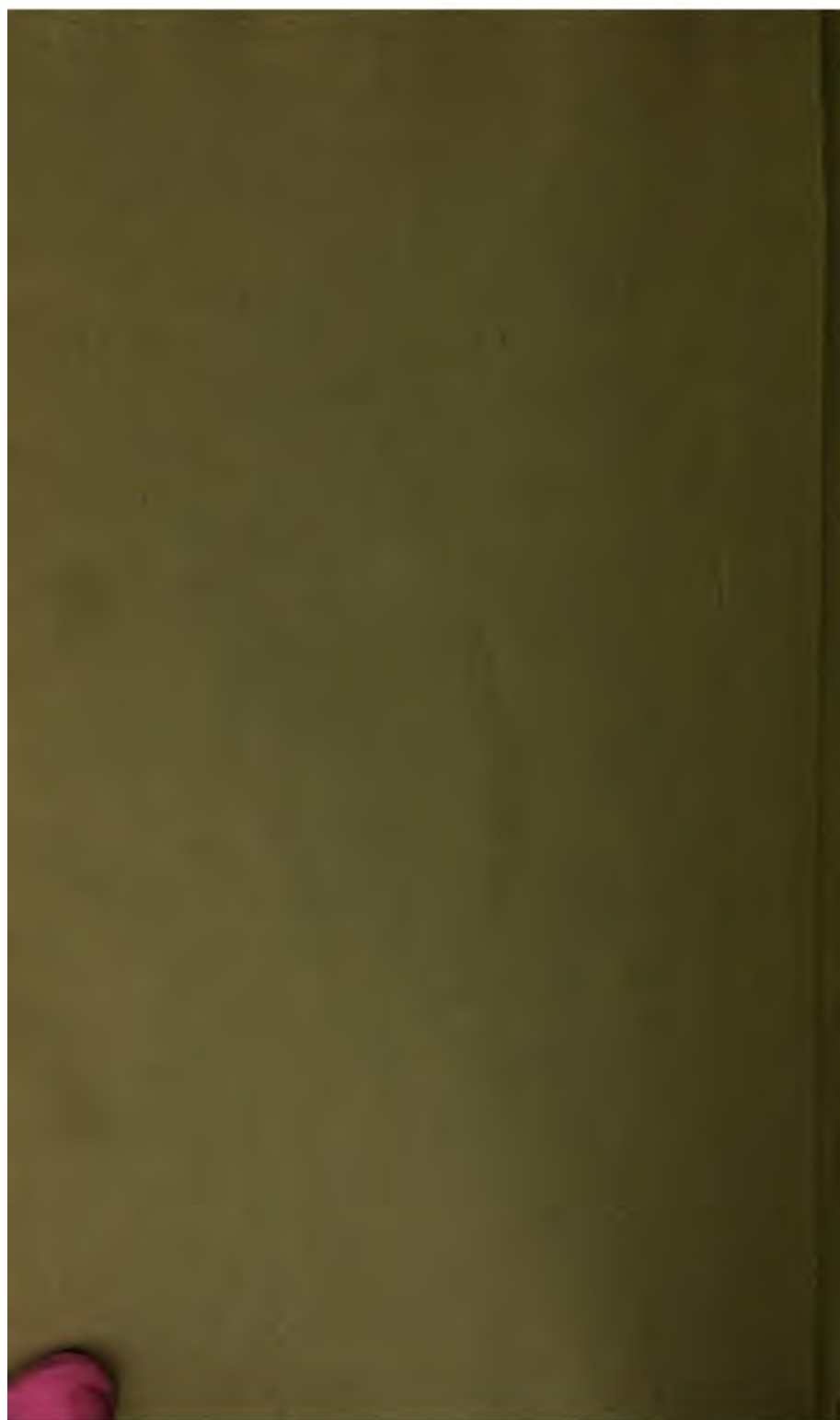
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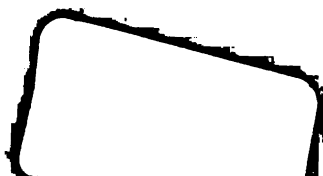








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